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What Price Conservation?

by ERIC ENGLUND

WHAT CAN the United States afford to spend for agricultural conservation?

The development of the implications of this question—entirely apart from periodic debates on appropriations—might help advance the progress of recent years in conservational policies and programs. Theoretical aspects of the question, including the conflict of interest, private and public, between the present and the future, long have engaged the attention of economists.

From the private standpoint, it has been pointed out that the amount that the farmer or any other operator can afford to spend to conserve his resources—farm land, forest, or any other—is limited by the present value of anticipated returns from the expenditure. If he spends borrowed capital, or his own capital for which he has alternative opportunity of investment, the rate of interest would govern considerations of the present value of future returns.

It is sometimes assumed that public expenditures for conservation are subject to the same general principle as those by the individual farmer, that is, the principle of time preference translated into some rate-of-interest concept. The "present value" of future returns, "computed"

on the basis of society's rate of time preference, has been thought to represent the limit of the price which society can afford to pay for conservation. On theoretical grounds, this assumption may have some degree of validity, as it seems reasonable to suppose that an advantage to be gained by society in the distant future would appear less important than if it were near at hand. But what is society's "rate of time preference"?

Private and Social Standards of Value

It has been recognized for some time that the concept of time preference, long related to interest in economic theory, is not equally applicable to the individual operator and to society.

Surely society, which is expected to exist in perpetuity, should have a different standard of values as between the present and the future from that of the individual, whose appraisal of the future is governed by his own short span of life and perhaps by a shadowy allowance for a generation or two of his descendants. His present appraisal of the future may be expressed in terms of a rate of interest.

But this criterion of private investment seems to be of uncertain value as a standard for public policy, including public expenditure for conservation. It is doubtful that compound interest has a place in determining what society can afford to spend for its own preservation and to insure to itself those values which it regards as fundamental to its own stability and progress.

The appraisal of these values must be made in terms of the social and cultural qualities which the society aspires to achieve and maintain. They are hardly measurable, even theoretically, in monetary terms. Moreover, society must look farther ahead than is practicable for the individual.

If future monetary values to society were ascertainable separately from other values and discounted at any given rate of compound interest, it might be possible to demonstrate that society can now afford to do relatively little toward safeguarding its future.

Agricultural Conservation Is Essential

Compound interest is a concept so largely private in character as to have very little applicability to questions of long-time social policy, because the end itself defies effort at valuation in monetary terms.

Conservation of agricultural resources—which includes both present utilization and preservation for future use—surely is essential to the welfare of society in perpetuity.

If, to use an extreme assumption, the essential natural resources available to a society were so wantonly exploited as to face destruction, the very basis of that society surely would be most seriously impaired.

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On the other hand, it may be assumed that no society ever disintegrated because of having too much of natural resources, or because of having conserved them too well.

It is conceivable, as another extreme hypothesis, that a society occupying a given area of very abundant natural resources might be invaded by some aggressive, "have-not" people desiring command over these resources and impelled by the notion that international conquest, rather than international trade, is the means of diffusing the advantages of abundant resources.

The possibility, under certain circumstances, that abundant resources might invite conquest, however, presupposes that the society had neglected its own defenses. Abundance of resources is only a part of what is required for national security. It may be an increasingly important part as long as the modern world fails to organize itself against war. Modern war requires more and more the integration of the whole State and possibly all of its resources.

The Difference Between Public and Private Finances

Be this as it may, it seems reasonable to suppose that the conservation of natural resources is one of the concrete means to which society must look for its own perpetual wellbeing.

It may be contended that from the standpoint of public finance the time preference of society, after all, is not significantly different from that of the individual as it is reflected in rate of interest, except for the difference in interest rates on private and public borrowing.

It could be asserted that society of itself has no funds for conservation expenditure except what a government gets from the people through taxation. When a dollar is taken from the individual taxpayer and expended for conservation, he is deprived of a purchasing power which, if spent on a private conservation enterprise at "the going rate of interest," would yield him a future return. This return, by definition, would equal his present expenditure after allowing for the rate of discount.

Such a supposed identity of private and public considerations, however, would fail to take into account not only the distinction between broad social values and the individual's market values, but also the strong possibility that society, through wise management of its finances, may invest in conservation without depriving the people as a whole of either the present enjoyment of their buying power or the advantage of increased resources for future use.

This could be true if such financing of a conservation program resulted, directly or indirectly, in the utilization of productive power, including labor, which otherwise would be idle and perhaps maintained by public expenditures for unemployment relief.

These productive resources are not only of the type that may be used now or saved for future use—such as deposits of oil, ore, and the like—but also may consist of resources which if not used now are forever lost to society. The latter resource is conspicuously represented by labor power, which being inseparable from today, is wasted if not used today.

Nature's productive powers also represent a resource which may be lost so far as today's productivity is concerned if the use of them is postponed until tomorrow. For example, a farm woodlot or any other area of land best suited for forest may be misused, the soil eroded, or useful species of trees not given opportunity to grow. That land and with it air, water, and sunshine represent productive powers which, when given the opportunity through the forest as a complex biological organism, may now produce much for the future security and well-being of society. On the other hand, that product of today is lost if nature is not given the opportunity to produce.

A Decisive Question of National Policy

It has been said that the decisive question from the standpoint of national policy is: How much of the current national income is Government justified in withholding or diverting from present consumption to expend upon productive resources for future use? This is a basic question in much of the theoretical analysis done on the question of the price that society can afford to pay for conservation. It is based on the assumption that whatever is spent for conservation is withdrawn from current consumption or from investment in some productive enterprise.

This assumption necessarily would be true only if there were no idle funds, idle capital goods, and idle labor, or if all these resources were already employed in a manner more productive of public good than if employed in conservation work. That much of these resources have been idle in the past 10 years and are still idle does not need demonstration.

What needs to be considered, however, is the possibility of so financing conservation that a part of these idle resources will be used for conservation without diverting purchasing power from present consumption; that is, without requiring the people to curtail present consumption in order to insure a greater abundance of natural resources for enjoyment in the future.

This does not imply that the financing of conservation can be managed so that no resources—labor, funds, equipment—other than those that are idle will be drawn into conservation work. What is here implied is the possibility that the resources which are put to work directly or

indirectly by reason of the expenditures for conservation may in the aggregate substantially match the conservation effort.

Additions to Current Income and Future Uses

One of the most common errors in reasoning about public policy is to draw direct parallels between private economy and public economy without recognizing essential differences between them. But even the recognition of the existence of such differences should be used with discrimination. Differences between private economy and public economy in the matter of financing agricultural conservation seem to include (1) that, in the public economy, expenditures and revenues may be balanced over a period of years by systematic resort to the opportunity to borrow and the power to tax, and (2) that judicious public expenditures in depression may serve to avoid much of the appalling waste of labor-time and other resources of production by rescuing these resources from idleness.

To the extent that such expenditures serve to mesh the gears of a partially stalled economic machine and to stimulate it into a faster tempo and more nearly full operation, it seems possible that the expenditure for conservation may add to current income available for consumption and at the same time improve productive resources for future use.

A program of agricultural conservation or other useful public works may be financed either by current taxation or by borrowing. In neither case is it certain that the purchasing power thus expended represents a curtailment of funds that otherwise would be used for other productive purchases or for consumption.

If a conservation program were to be financed by current taxation, much would depend upon the sort of tax used. It does not necessarily follow that a tax exacts from the citizens at a given time only the funds which if not exacted would be used at that time or soon for consumption or for productive work.

Using "Idle Money" to Increase Consumption

In a period of economic depression, and perhaps to a degree at other times, there is undoubtedly more purchasing power available than is actually employed either for consumption or for production. This buying power may be popularly called "idle money," using the term "money" in a broad sense to include bank credits, and reserves of various sorts as well as actual currency.

In other words, in such a period there is much buying power that is not "straining at the bit" to plunge forward into productive enterprise or current consumption. If some of this "idle money" were reached by taxes to raise revenue for conservation or other public works, it

might well be that such expenditures would constitute, not a withdrawal from present consumption, but an actual addition to present consumption through the employment of labor and capital resources which otherwise would be idle.

It is neither necessary nor expedient, however, to finance a conservation program wholly or even largely by current taxation in time of depression. Public borrowing is a more readily available means of financing conservation programs in such a time.

When bonds are sold to investors who draw upon their "idle money" to pay for them, it does not follow that the issuance of such bonds would withdraw funds either from present consumption or present production. It is only when public borrowing competes for funds that are eagerly sought by private productive enterprise that such public borrowing might deter business activity and consumption in one direction, while seeking to stimulate them in another through public expenditures.

Bonds, issued to raise funds for conservation or other public works in times of depression, may not immediately be absorbed by investors who buy the bonds in order to put their savings to work but may be taken over by banks and become a basis for credit expansion. This tends to be inflationary, which within limits need not be decried in a period of deflation and economic stagnation.

Deficit Financing in Depression Years

Public borrowing to finance conservation in time of depression may be a part of a more general program of deficit financing in depression years, and it therefore has a vital relation to budget policy. It has been assumed that a healthy fiscal situation invariably required balancing of the budget each year. This does not necessarily follow, unless the usual rules for prudent management of individual private affairs are taken as direct and unmodified criteria for public policy. Moreover, as a practical matter, it may prove more and more difficult, if not impossible, for governments to balance their budget *annually* because of the higher level of expenditures due to the huge responsibility assumed for relief and other aid in depression years, accompanied by reduced revenues.

If deficit financing becomes a deliberate fiscal policy in depression years, it follows that the budget must be balanced over a period of years, through equally deliberate surplus financing in more prosperous years. Otherwise, debt would mount indefinitely, and sooner or later debt charges would reach such a high level that, at any rate of interest, the total interest charge plus current expenditures could not be met by revenues, and would then necessitate perpetual expansion of public debt.

Such expansion in the public debt would lead toward impairment of public credit and the accompanying danger of being unable to meet

the huge expenditures that would be inevitable if some great national emergency should come, such as war. An indefinite increase in nationally owned assets may not altogether obviate this danger. These assets might not be usable either to liquidate the national debt or to meet the financial demands of some great national emergency.

Current Expenditures and Capital Expenditures

The operation of the Swedish budget in recent years and other experiences suggest the need for careful consideration of the possibility of deficit and surplus financing and classifying the outlays into two grand divisions—current expenditures and capital expenditures. Certain significant outlays for conservation would fall in the latter division.

The extent to which our agricultural conservation program could be considered a capital expenditure depends largely on whether it is assumed that expenditures are capital expenditures only when made for self-liquidating purposes. From the standpoint of long-time public interest, this may be too restrictive a definition of capital expenditures. A broader definition might recognize the preservation and increase of a number of tangible public assets.

It seems reasonable to assume that conservation expenditures are necessary to the maintenance of a permanent and relatively healthy economy. Under such an economy, future revenues undoubtedly would be larger with a given system and level of taxation, and the conservation expenditures would tend to be self-liquidating to the extent that taxable capacity and yield of revenue would be greater than if these conservation expenditures had not been made. A difficulty of the broader concept of "self liquidation" lies in the uncertainty of definition, including the difficulty of drawing a specific line between capital expenditures and current expenditures.

Reducing the Public Debt in Good Years

Unless it is insisted that a policy of deficit financing must include surplus financing there is danger that advocacy of a "double budget," i. e., capital budget and current budget, may become merely a sort of apologetics for continued deficit financing. The very heart of the problem of alternate periods of deliberate and systematic deficit and surplus financing lies in the necessity of having surplus revenues on an adequate scale in "good years." To reduce the public debt in "good years" is to put the Government in a position to borrow more freely for necessary programs in the succeeding period of depression, or for some other great emergency, as mentioned above.

In passing, it may be noted that if deficit financing in bad times helps to make times less bad, it does not necessarily follow that surplus

financing in good times would correspondingly retard business expansion. The Government would retire bonds from current excess revenues over expenditures. The funds thus paid out would be available for investment by those who lately held the bonds; and if money, no longer idle, is in demand to finance private industry, as would more likely be the case in prosperous years, the funds received in exchange for bonds presumably would soon find their way into industry. Be this as it may, the surplus financing would make it possible to reduce the public debt and thereby put the Government into a sound position for resuming deficit financing in the succeeding slump. In this connection it would be necessary to take into account such additions as may have been made in the meantime to the revenue-producing assets of the Government.

Success Rests Also on Public Attitudes

The possibility of the success of such a budget rests only in part on economic grounds. It rests quite as much or more on political considerations—political in the broader sense of that term. It has been demonstrated that public borrowing to meet expenditures for relief and works programs is possible even in the face of the more orthodox doctrine that the country's credit is endangered unless the budget is balanced *each year*. The more difficult issues arise out of the fact that a budget balanced over a period of years must be planned deliberately, as already noted, for both deficit financing and surplus financing.

Surplus financing makes it necessary to maintain and even increase taxes in good times in order to curtail the public debt. In the 1920's there was some criticism of an allegedly too rapid retirement of the national debt. Even in those prosperous years some groups of citizens preferred greater tax reduction to the then prevailing rate of debt reduction.

Any deliberate attempt at surplus financing probably would meet with strong pressure to reduce taxes even in good times. In addition, it would encounter the views of those who would prefer keeping up the public expenditures even in prosperous years in the belief that it would provide still more and better jobs and give still further stimulus to prosperity. The pressure to reduce taxes, also, would be encouraged by the knowledge that the budget seemed "over balanced."

Public Understanding and Approval

These and other issues confronting such a budget policy might be manageable, if at all, only in an atmosphere of public understanding and approval. This presupposes a degree of public understanding and singleness of purpose which, as yet, may not have been attained to the degree necessary to inaugurate and follow such a program. But such

understanding and purpose are essential not only for such a budget policy, but for other economic policies as well.

Such public understanding and constancy of purpose are essential to the realization of the modern hope and faith that a democratic form of government can devise and carry out plans to strengthen and stabilize the economy of the Nation, to use wisely its resources, and to increase the income and economic security of the mass of the people.

To assert that such a program is politically unattainable is to suppose an incurable weakness in democratic society that precludes rational management of the public finances in the face of the size and variety of functions which government everywhere has been brought to assume in modern times. Faith in democracy does not admit of denying that democracy is capable of managing its finances. If the purpose and methods of such a program were made conspicuously clear to the public through wide study and discussion, the possibility of public understanding and approval should be materially advanced.

The Program Must Be Planned First

Expenditures for a program of agricultural conservation, even as a part of a systematic capital budget, would fall far short of their full possibilities unless the program itself were systematically formulated ahead of actual operation. Rural unemployment, both farm and village, represents a substantial part of the total unemployment. In addition, each depression brings back to the country a considerable number of workers who have lost their jobs in the cities.

It has been a part of our public policy to aid these unemployed through works programs and grants on a large scale. Who can suppose that this will not be the policy of the future as large-scale need occurs? It is generally recognized that such aid may be provided most economically, in relation to socially beneficial results, if carried out systematically on well-formulated plans.

To this end an agricultural conservation program should be associated with a rural works program. In order to be most effective both in stimulating employment and in advancing conservation, the work of such a program needs to be formulated in terms of projects and localities, well in advance of actual operation. This would be in contrast to undertakings hastily arranged only when the need for aid to the unemployed is pressing for immediate attention.

A Permanent Staff for Rural Works

Systematic formulation of such a program would involve, first, organization of a permanent staff and a nucleus of other workers who

would plan projects which would have the maximum utility from the standpoint of broad usefulness and maximum effectiveness in stimulating employment with the least possible interference with normal employment and its expansion in private enterprise; and second, development of staff members and other workers into a nucleus of a working organization designed for rapid and efficient expansion in time of depression through recruiting from among the unemployed.

In times of depression, agriculture has subsidized heavily the rest of society. For example, after the beginning of the depression of the 1930's, agriculture, with a relatively small exception of the drought years of 1934 and 1936, has made available to the rest of society an undiminished quantity of *use values* in the form of crops and livestock. Meanwhile, the output of goods by urban industries was greatly curtailed. The exchange value received by agriculture per unit of its nearly undiminished output was greatly reduced, and the exchange value per unit of urban industrial output was correspondingly increased. This resulted in a huge subsidy by agriculture to the rest of society.

With an agricultural conservation program coupled with a rural works program, and financed in part at least on the capital budget principle, much conservation work could be done on borrowed funds in times of depression, with borrowings liquidated with revenues in better times. In the depression years agriculture would make available to the rest of society, as it has in past depressions, virtually undiminished quantities of "use values" in the form of essentials of life, but would receive in return greatly reduced exchange values. This would constitute agriculture's return flow of economic subsidy to the rest of society.

In other words, under a plan of financing which would systematize expenditures for agricultural conservation, coupled with a rural works program, the fiscal machinery of society at large in the more prosperous years would provide revenues to meet borrowing for agricultural conservation "subsidies" made largely in depression years. In the same depression years society would in effect be subsidized by agriculture through the usual abundance of essential products at low price and still lower exchange value to agriculture.

Conservation and a Systematic Rural Works Program

Meanwhile, the credit of society could be used in the depression years to expand the conservation work by utilization of large resources that would otherwise be wasted through non-use. This expansion would tend to augment, not decrease, the current income available for consumption in depression years. If this were done with the least possible

interference with private employment, it should contribute toward making the depressions less deep than in the absence of such a program or if an attempt were made to finance it by current taxation.

In conclusion, the price which society can afford to pay for a conservation program is not governed solely by the usual theoretical computation of present value of future (monetary) returns, in line with some assumed "rate of time preference." In addition to monetary returns the price which society can afford to pay for conservation also depends on social values which a society of assumed perpetuity must consider, and the extent to which the real cost of conservation can be met by using labor and other productive power that otherwise might be wasted through nonuse.

In order to do the latter most effectively, it would be necessary to finance conservation on a budget principle which would definitely provide for alternate periods of surplus and deficit financing in conjunction with years of relative prosperity and depression. This in turn would require that conservation work be made a part, perhaps the main part, of a systematic rural works program. This would not only contribute to the conservation of agricultural resources, but also to a better rural-urban economic balance.

In Later Issues

ARTICLES in this issue by Dr. Eric Englund and Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., furnish a background for two forthcoming articles. One is by Raymond C. Smith, chief program analyst in the office of the Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, who surveys the whole field of rural welfare and suggests remedies based on plans for a rural works program.

The other is by William F. Watkins, agronomist and principal soil conservationist in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. He examines available material on the extent of conservation practices on individual farms and in national terms in order to appraise the extent of conservation and measures needed to achieve desirable goals in the work.

Helen Hill Miller, political scientist and senior agricultural writer in B. A. E., draws upon her wide study of subsistence farming and practical farming experience for an analysis of several contemporary aspects of farm living.

Rural Planning for More Workers

by T. J. WOOFER, JR.

OUR POTENTIAL working population, aged 18 to 65 years, is now increasing at the rate of more than a million persons a year; in a period of minimum opportunity the United States is having the maximum addition to its labor force.

This rate will slacken gradually, but the actual number will continue to grow for some years. This situation challenges the best thought and efforts of those responsible for the policies and programs designed to guide the United States back to prosperity. The return of predepression employment levels will not be enough; in 1937 we attained industrial employment levels of 1929, but millions were still unemployed, chiefly because of the expansion in population.

The size of the increase is in itself a problem that contributes heavily to unemployment and complicates other social adjustments. Its distribution, too, aggravates the problem: The most rapid increases are from farm families. In the next 20 years, only 3 million of the 14½ million increase in the number of persons of working age will come from families now in cities, 4 million will come from families now in villages, and more than 7 million from families now on farms—more than half from farms, and more than three-fourths from rural territory. Within the farm population, the greatest expansion is in the poor land areas.

The most rapid increases are in the Lake States, Utah, the Great Plains, Appalachian-Ozarks, Cotton South, and Southwest. There is a close correlation between low agricultural income and high population increase. Given 30 years with no outward migration, the farm population of the poorest agricultural counties would double.

Economic Factors Complicate the Problem

Economic tendencies add to the problem, among them the partial loss of European markets and the probable course of export demand in the event of a long war. The Secretary of Agriculture has said that the shrinkage of European exports since the 1920's equals the normal production of some 30 million acres of land.

Improved practices have also greatly reduced the man-hour requirements in the principal crops; tractor sales reached a peak of 220,000 in 1937; between 1910 and 1930 the labor required to produce an acre of cotton declined by one-fourth and the labor needed on an acre of corn declined by about a fifth.

Narrowed demand and increased efficiency mean that we can now grow enough for normal demands with about 1,500,000 fewer workers in agriculture than in 1929. We face two conflicting trends: A growing population that needs wider opportunities, and a restrictive demand for manpower in agriculture.

Changing Ideas of the Type of Our Democracy

Writings about agricultural and population policies indicate that program makers approach the dilemma with certain assumptions that should be carefully examined, not necessarily to imply disagreement or agreement, but to indicate the difficulties in reaching unanimity about the goals of planning.

The first assumption is that we shall go forward under democratic institutions. There is no marked, effective trend to the contrary in the thinking of this country, but it is evident that our ideas regarding the type of democracy necessary for efficiently accomplishing social change are undergoing profound modifications away from *laissez faire* theories and away from an extreme State's-rights position of the 1920's toward more positive governmental action and toward regional and national coordination of effort in fields that transcend State boundaries.

It has become apparent recently that this country will tolerate controls as long as they are instituted and administered by the democratic process and as long as their intent is to promote general welfare.

An American Standard of Living and Security

Another assumption is that the system evolved should assure every willing and able breadwinner an American standard of living while he works and security when he cannot work. It should give children as nearly equal opportunities as possible to grow without handicaps of family poverty or inadequate community institutions.

This assumption, in the abstract, will not be seriously challenged, but there is some vagueness about the exact nature of this American standard of living. The concept is usually approached in terms of averages. With the distribution of incomes concentrated toward the bottom, we sometimes forget that more families live below this average level than above it. In 1929, one-fourth of the farmers had gross incomes of less than \$600, and net incomes, including production for home use, of approximately \$400. As these farmers work 2,000 or 2,500 hours a year, this amount is far below the minimum hour wage of 30 cents originally set for industrial workers.

Will Present Patterns Be Followed?

Do we then propose to define this American living standard in terms of averages or in terms of distributions? Do we propose to attain it

by setting minima below which we do not wish families to live, or do we propose to raise the distribution all along the line? Do we propose to attain it simply by increasing the total national income without attention to its distribution?

A third assumption is that the present patterns generally will be followed. That is to say, we shall go forward not only under democratic institutions but along lines essentially similar to the present ones.

In agriculture, this means that it is widely assumed that the present patterns in size of farm, concentration on commercial crops, unrestricted land use, ability to exploit the land and speculate in it, and so forth, will be adhered to. It would seem, however, that our equanimity would be more disturbed if it were fully realized that this pattern freezes the expansion of agriculture, shuts out a large part of the oncoming generation, reduces the status of many farmers to that of landless tenants or laborers, encourages vicious cycles of inflated values, and puts a premium on practices leading to ruinous loss of soil fertility.

Another assumption is that many disadvantaged persons are down in the scale because of hereditary defect, laziness, or general indifference. The fallacy is apparent to anyone who has had social experience. Farmers may lose a crop because of the loss of a work animal. A drought may result in bankruptcy. Some persons may have missed opportunities because of parental poverty or inadequate local schools. This means a handicap in farm management. Many farmers fail simply because they are ill. Other factors far outweigh hereditary or temperamental defects as causes of distress; preventive measures should include the control of adverse social and economic environments.

Toward Urbanization, or Back to the Farm

When we attempt to plan a way out, we find several questions. Should the balance of population be tipped further toward urbanization, or the reverse? For a century up to 1930, the proportion of the working population in agriculture declined.

By 1930 only about one-fifth of our gainful workers were engaged in agriculture; in England, the proportion had gone down to one-tenth. England is worried about its self-sufficiency and, during the early 1930's, tried by subsidies to promote a back-to-the-land movement, but with small success up to 1938. Should the trend away from agriculture become much more pronounced in the United States we might have the same situation.

Increasing technical efficiency means that this Nation, with its present demand, could produce sufficient farm products with somewhat less than 20 percent of the number of workers now engaged in agriculture.

But evidence recently developed in consumer-purchase studies and

various surveys of consumption by families on relief show that a different distribution of income—an increase in purchasing power of the lower third of the population—would tremendously increase the demands for foods and fibers. Any restoration of purchasing power in Europe would have a similar effect.

Part-time Farming and Rural Industries

Even if we contend that ultimately the proportion of workers in agriculture must decline, we cannot shrug aside the immediate situation by saying that industry should absorb the excess population. Equally futile is the thought that industrial unemployment might be ended by putting all the urban unemployed on the land.

Between a policy of further urbanization and stopping the trend away from agricultural employment is the encouragement of part-time farming and the development of scattered rural industries. In the past 20 years hundreds of thousands of agriculturists have depended on off-the-farm employment for part of their living.

The development of nonfarm sources of income for farm families undoubtedly merits full exploration. It is capable of some expansion but, if we face realistically the trends of the past 15 years, we are not encouraged to hope for a basic revolution in the economy by this process.

Shortcomings of Rural Employment Programs

Because industry has not been sufficiently decentralized to provide nonfarm income for large areas, the expedient of supplying such income through a public works program has been followed. It appears that as long as the excess of new workers is not absorbed by either agriculture or industry, public employment is necessary to maintain the purchasing power and the morale of idle workers.

There have been two shortcomings of rural employment programs to date: Short-range public employment programs cannot be coherently planned but must proceed on a fiscal-year basis without continuity, and the lack of skills makes it difficult to complete any kind of construction work for the farm population except ditches, roads, dams, and the like.

A long-range public employment program would envisage a more extensive use of idle manpower in conserving natural resources and providing rural services like schools, libraries, public health, recreation, and public welfare.

Self-Reliance in Agriculture

The lag involved in the industrial absorption of excess rural population and the slowness of expansion of part-time farming means that,

over at least a decade, agriculture must be geared to care for the maximum number, even if some of the devices by which this is accomplished are temporary stopgaps.

Agriculture must put its own house in order, without too much reliance on industry to absorb the unneeded farm population. This, too, involves certain questions.

Chemurgy, the chemical inventions that will increase the use of agricultural products, has possibilities, but these are unpredictable. Furthermore, any increase in demand for manpower in connection with the development of new products possibly will be offset by technological inventions that will increase efficiency and reduce labor requirements in other crops.

Another problem is that of large-scale versus family-sized farming. Left unhindered, with the advance in technology, the normal economic forces would tend to develop more and more large mechanized farms that require a considerable outlay of capital on the part of the operator and that are tilled largely by hired laborers. Some observers maintain that this is economically the most efficient method of organization, from the viewpoint of commercial production of commodities.

But we should question whether there are social losses that offset economic gains. Even from the economic standpoint, when we approach the question from the aspect of the farm family rather than of the commodity, it is doubtful whether the family that grows wheat or cotton exclusively and buys other foods is better off than the family that grows some wheat and some cotton, and a considerable part of its own food requisites.

From the viewpoint of society as a whole, there can be little doubt that large-scale mechanized holdings create a tenant and migratory laborer group that receives a disproportionately small part of the agricultural income and tends to create relief problems in time of stress.

Cooperative Devices for Family Sized Farms

A middle ground between large-scale and family sized farms lies in the development of family sized units bound together with cooperative devices. It should not be inferred that it is desirable to collectivize our farms.

Pride of ownership is deeply ingrained in American farmers; but cooperative ownership of bulls, boars, and heavy machinery, and of community facilities for storing, processing, purchasing, and selling, can bring to the family sized farm many of the advantages of large-scale operations without loss of individual initiative.

Foreign Trade, Subsidies, and Tariff

Another aspect of the problem has to do with foreign trade and economic self-sufficiency. The revival of export trade in Europe would probably involve the extension of credits; our experience in building an export trade on credit during the 1920's should be a warning in this regard.

An alternative would be a drastic lowering of tariffs, and this would meet with vigorous resistance. A third measure, export subsidies, also resembles philanthropy to European consumers, the cost of the gift being removed from the shoulders of farmers by imposing taxation on other segments of the economy.

Our efforts to distribute agricultural surpluses to needy families through the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation represent a developing technique for redistribution in this country.

Bound up with the choice of exports versus self-sufficiency and large-scale versus small-scale farming is the choice of the relative emphasis to be placed on commercial agriculture and on live-at-home balanced general farming. Fifty percent of the American farmers in 1930 produced 90 percent of the commercial crops; the others sold only 10 percent of the commercial crops, and depended on production for home use for the remainder of their income.

The economics of the situation would point to more efficient commodity production by regional specialization on crops for which the regions have differential advantages, were it not for the fact that in such an economy the producer must depend on other sections for his food and must, accordingly, pay the profits of processing, handling, and shipping this food to his market.

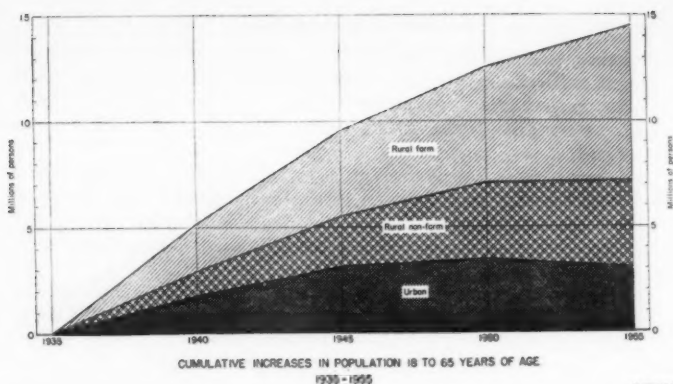
Likewise, exclusive concentration on a single money crop places the income of the producer wholly at the mercy of price fluctuations and furnishes no cushion against depression.

The most significant fact in a recent study of Southern plantations was that while the income of the landlord increased almost directly with the proportion of his crop acreage in cotton and tobacco, the income of the tenant increased almost directly with the amount of his production for home use.

Births and Immigration

We have examined briefly the devices for adapting the use of resources to the population; in an examination of policies of adapting population to resources, we must consider factors of birth control and the restriction of immigration.

In view of the facts of population pressure, it would seem logical to advocate a restrictive population policy, but one should remember that



the effects of such courses are apparent on the labor market only 18 or 20 years after their adoption.

If one projects the present working population forward to 1955 and assumes no net immigration, he sees that by that date the increase in new workers will be sluggish; by 1955, city families will mature too few workers for replacement, and families now on farms will mature a number sufficient to increase the total national supply of working age adults by about 400,000 a year.

If living standards remain the same, this will mean fewer new families each successive year, a declining demand for new houses, a risky situation for new investment in many types of permanent improvements, a stationary output for products of inelastic demand, and a consequent stabilization of production in these fields. In other words, by 1955, on the basis of children already born, the Nation will begin to feel the depressing effects of the past decline in the birth rate. While the Nation now feels sharply the pressure of excess producers, it is probable that during dull periods of the late 1950's the Nation will be acutely conscious of a deficit in consumers, or at least the failure of the consumer market to expand unless the level of consumption can be greatly raised.

These are among the many puzzling problems that confront the makers of agricultural policy. Constructive work is being done to meet them, but much effort is in the nature of palliatives of maladjustment rather than preventives, and on a scale too narrow to meet the whole problem.

Rational planning must supplant emergency psychosis.

Citizens Help Plan and Operate Action Programs

by CARLETON R. BALL

FROM a seeds-and-statistics agency, the Department of Agriculture has developed to include far-flung activities like land-use planning, conservation, surplus commodity disposal, tenant rehabilitation, and crop production credit. Some persons believe that this growth is an example of the centralization of authority.

With reservations, it is that. But the nature of its scope merits dispassionate inquiry and offers an insight into an aspect of political science. Whether the intent toward centralization comes from above or below and whether there are counterbalances, are of basic importance.

There are decentralizing forces in the cooperation of State and local governments with Washington and in the participation of private citizens in department programs. More than 890,000 citizens help plan and operate 9 rural action programs.

Besides, more than 515,000 other volunteers report on crops and livestock, wildlife, and weather. Millions of farm families are aided by the various programs. The Extension Service, for example, influenced substantial improvements by some 4,635,000 farm families in 1938.

Let us investigate further these two aspects of several programs: The cooperation among the levels of government and the extent of participation of private citizens.

Local Committees in Agricultural Adjustment

The action programs of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration operate through 3,021 county agricultural associations, to which nearly 6 million farmers belong.

Community committees, which numbered 24,056 under the 1939 program, prepare, check, and approve program forms and documents, recommend acreage allotments and soil-building goals for farms, assist in checking performance, and cooperate in educational activities. Generally speaking, these efforts are reviewed and supervised by county committees. Members of community and county committees are paid \$2.50 to \$5.50 for each day of active service. For community committeemen, this amounts to about 12 days a year. Each county committeeman averaged 65 days of service in the 1938 program.

State committees, with three to five farmer members and the State director of extension, review recommendations of county committees,

recommend special county acreage allotments, supervise performance, consider appeals, advise on general State policy, and assist in developing newly adopted programs, among other duties.

Land-Use Planning Committees

Land-use planning developed from the realization that programs for adjustment, conservation, and financial assistance often overlapped and brought two problems: How to make any one national program meet national objectives and yet serve the needs of diverse communities, and how to unify and coordinate the activities into essentially one program when they touch the individual farm. It became evident that national needs required that national planning begin at the top and work down and that local needs required that planning begin on the farm and spread outward and upward.

In July 1938 committees of the Department and the Association of Land-Grant Colleges formulated an agreement which provided that the Department be responsible for the over-all administration of action programs and that both Federal and State agencies cooperate in developing land-use study and plans as a basis for correlating all programs. There were established State land-use planning committees—comprising representatives of Federal and State agencies and several qualified farm men and women—and county land-use planning committees including representatives of Federal and State agencies concerned with different phases of land-use, and farm men and women. Finally, community committees of representative men and women from the farms were created to aid the county committees on local problems.

About 1,200 counties in 48 States entered on this county planning program in 1939-40. In some counties, about 200 farm men and women have been enlisted for service in county and community groups, but the average probably is about 60 in each county, or an estimated total of approximately 72,000. It seems likely that fully 500,000 men and women may participate in this fundamental action program when it is completely organized in some 2,500 counties.

Volunteer Leaders in Agricultural Extension Education

The Nation-wide Federal-State cooperative program for agricultural extension education, under Federal and State administrative and advisory staffs, enlists extension staffs including some 6,500 county agricultural agents, home demonstration agents, 4-H Club agents, and their assistants. Their work is done through office calls, telephone conferences, farm visits, meetings, demonstrations, letters, exhibits, bulletins, and many other activities.

An important factor is the training of many volunteer and unpaid local leaders, adults, and youths, as demonstrators, teachers, discussion

leaders, and organizers to help present subject matter to local groups, counsel with the extension staff in analyzing conditions and needs, and in planning the yearly program, and to plan activities like farm and farm-home demonstrations, educational tours, and exhibits.

The steady increase in numbers of volunteer leaders from 432,400 in 1933 to 586,600 in 1938 is significant.

Each leader devotes an estimated average of 10 to 12 days annually to the work. In 1938, this represented the equivalent of the full-time service of approximately 20,000 persons, or more than three times the number of paid county extension workers.

Farmer Associations for Farm Credit Purposes

The Farm Credit Administration supervises a Nation-wide system of agricultural credit units empowered to make long-time and short-time agricultural loans to farmers, chiefly through farmer associations (national farm-loan associations and production credit associations) and to cooperatives.

Farmers own the stock of national farm-loan associations which, in turn, own substantial amounts of stock in the Federal land banks (through their national farm-loan associations), in the banks for cooperatives (through their farmer cooperatives), and in the production credit associations (through their membership therein). Farmers thus have a real part in the affairs of these credit enterprises.

The Federal land banks make long-term mortgage loans, chiefly through organized groups of farmers called national farm-loan associations, for the purchase, equipment, improvement, or operation of farm lands or to refund previous indebtedness thereon. Of these associations, 3,722 were operating on December 31, 1939, each with a board of at least 5 directors selected by the members at the annual stockholders' meeting, making a minimum total of 18,610 such members. The directors receive no compensation except for official expenses. On December 31, 1939, national farm-loan associations held capital stock in the 12 Federal land banks amounting to \$107,786,870. The national farm-loan associations elect 1 of the 7 members of the district Farm Credit Board, each association casting 1 vote, and a second member is chosen by the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration from the 3 nominees receiving the highest number of votes in an election conducted by all associations in the district.

The board of directors of each national farm-loan association annually elects a loan committee of three members, with at least two alternates, to consider applications for loans. The loan committee's approval must be unanimous. In general, a committee member receives a small fee for each application reviewed but no other remuneration.

The 3,820 annual meetings of association stockholders in 1939 were attended by 183,169 persons, of whom 57 percent were association members.

On December 31, 1939, production credit loans were being made through 528 production credit associations of farmers, organized and supervised by a production credit corporation in each of the 12 farm-credit districts, and chartered by the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration. Members of each association elect either 5 or 7 directors, a total of approximately 2,750 directors. Each board selects an executive committee of 2 of its members and the secretary-treasurer of the association to act as a loan committee. The production-credit associations elect 1 of the 7 members of the district Farm Credit Board, each association casting 1 vote. Loans are made for general agricultural purposes.

On December 31, 1939, there were 1,634 farmers' cooperatives borrowing from the 13 banks for cooperatives. Each cooperative has a board of directors of 5 or more members, making a total of about 11,438 directors.

Farmer Committees of the Farm Security Administration

The Farm Security Administration helps needy farm families to become permanently self-supporting. It has three major activities: Financial rehabilitation of low-income farm families, the tenant farm-purchase program, and management of the 161 different homestead projects of the former Resettlement Administration. Another activity is the construction and operation of camps for migrant farm workers.

Two groups of citizen committees serve in the rehabilitation program. The committees on farm-debt adjustment are volunteer local citizens, appointed by F. S. A., which acts merely as an intermediary in bringing the debtor farmer and his creditors together with the local committee to adjust what might be otherwise a hopeless debt situation. In 1939 there were 2,911 such committees, with 11,529 members.

Local groups also pass on applications for rehabilitation loans. These committees are selected informally by field officials. It is estimated that approximately 10,000 persons serve in this way.

The tenant farm-purchase program is confined to certain counties recommended by State Farm Security Advisory committees whose members are guided by factors like farm population, prevalence of tenancy, and the availability of satisfactory farms at reasonable prices. These 48 State committees have 9 members each, a total of 432 members. In 1939 there were 1,289 county advisory committees, with 3,867 members, who consider applications for farm-purchase loans and certify each farm approved for purchase by a selected tenant.

Each of the 161 homestead projects has an operating committee of at least 3 members. Most of them have many more. If an average of 5 members each is assumed, there is a total of 805 committeemen.

Each of the 15 camps for migrant workers has a camp council, democratically elected, which makes and enforces the rules of the camp community, with supervision by an F. S. A. paid manager. The camps have a capacity of 200 to 300 families, and, as 1 councilor is elected from approximately each 30 families, the numbers vary from about 6 to 10 per camp. Assuming an average of 8, the total would be 120 councilors. Thirty-one camps are planned.

The number of citizens participating in activities of the Farm Security Administration approximates 26,753. There is a considerable but undetermined duplication in this figure.

District Advisory Boards for the Grazing Service

The Grazing Service of the Department of the Interior administers Federal Grazing Districts under the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934, as amended in 1936 and 1939, which permits conservation and grazing control on 142,000,000 acres of vacant, unreserved, unappropriated public land.

The act provides for a local district advisory board in each district, elected by those with licenses and permits and subsequently appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. The advisors give advice and recommendations about carrying capacity, applications for use (except their own), rules of fair range practice, allotments of range, applications for construction or maintenance of improvements, recommendations of local associations of stockmen, and similar matters.

In December 1939 there were 53 grazing districts containing about 134,000,000 acres in 10 Western States (all except Washington). The 53 advisory boards, having 5 to 12 members, exclusive of a wildlife representative provided for in each district, have a total of 547 members.

Borrower-Association Directors, R. E. A.

The Rural Electrification Administration, created in 1935, was transferred to the Department of Agriculture on July 1, 1939. It makes loans for building rural electric-distribution systems, which must be amortized within 25 years and must be self-liquidating within the period of the loan. It also makes loans for financing electric wiring and the purchase and installation of electrical and plumbing equipment.

Loans may be made to persons, corporations, States or their subdivisions, municipalities, people's utility districts, and cooperative, non-

profit, or limited dividend associations, with preference to the public agencies and cooperatives.

At the end of 1939, there were 688 such borrowers, of which 89 percent were cooperatives. The other borrowers were 1 State, 1 county, numerous municipalities, 34 public power districts (in Nebraska, Nevada, and Washington), and about 25 private power companies.

The 89 percent of cooperatives among the 688 borrowers would represent 614 such organizations. They have boards of directors, each averaging about 8 members, or a total of about 4,900. Ordinarily, the board members are elected on a geographic basis.

The directors establish the policies of the cooperatives or organizations they represent, enter into contracts with outside agencies, pass on proposed expenditures, and review actions taken and programs in operation. They deal with the R. E. A. in negotiating loans and in their interest payments and gradual amortization.

In many cases cooperative associations have various committees of five or more members who cooperate with the R. E. A. in specific matters. Many cooperatives have committees on education and on the utilization of electricity.

Supervisors of Soil Conservation Districts

One of the chief avenues for citizen participation in soil-conservation programs is through the formation and administration of soil-conservation districts. These may be organized by farmers in States having appropriate enabling laws, now in effect in 36 States. These provide for a State soil conservation committee of 3 to 5 State officers, such as the director of the State extension service, the director of the State agricultural experiment station, State conservation commissioner, State commissioner of agriculture, a representative of the State planning board, or other officials.

These committees administer procedures in the creation of districts, assist the district supervisors, encourage the organization of needed districts, facilitate interchange of advice and experience between districts, and help coordinate the programs of the several districts in the State. Each district, however, is an independent subdivision, not subject to the State soil conservation committee or any Federal or State agency.

The governing body of the district consists of five supervisors, three elected by the farmers and two (usually farmers) appointed by the State committee, each for 3 years. Supervisors may receive subsistence and travel expenses necessary to discharge their duties.

They may hire a staff and may obtain the cooperation of State and Federal agencies in their program, conduct research and demonstration

projects, carry out prevention and control measures, contract with farmers and give them financial and other assistance, acquire necessary lands or properties for retirement from cultivation or other purposes, make available any machinery and equipment needed for control operations, and develop land-use plans and suggest them to land occupiers.

On February 15, 1940, a total of 568 petitions requesting the creation of districts had been filed in 33 States. Hearings had been held on 491 of these at 971 different locations. To date, 387 districts have been declared necessary and feasible by the State committees, and 32 petitions have been denied. Of the 387 districts, 234 with an area of nearly 128 million acres (or an average area of more than 850 square miles), have received certificates of organization. In 223 districts, supervisors have been elected and appointed; 171 districts, having 5 supervisors each, have entered into cooperative arrangements with the Department of Agriculture for aid in conducting their programs.

Committees and Demonstration Farmers in the T. V. A. Program

The Tennessee Valley Authority is authorized by Congress to undertake measures for improving the quality of plant-food materials and for cheapening their cost. On the advice of farmer organizations and State and Federal soil and crop specialists, the Authority has devoted most of its effort to the production of concentrated forms of phosphates.

The act requires that any fertilizer materials produced shall be widely tested by experiment stations, farmers, and associations of farmers, and provides that the Authority shall undertake to control erosion in the Tennessee Valley area by means of fertilizers, or otherwise, to protect the land from physical injury and the reservoirs from silting.

These two requirements result in large-scale activities on farms, all of which are conducted by the State colleges of agriculture in the seven Valley States in cooperation with the Authority.

In order to test and demonstrate the effect of the concentrated phosphates, the colleges have enlisted the cooperation of many county and community committees and farmers.

The community test-demonstration farmers, of whom there usually is one in any given community, agree with the community and county committee and the State college extension service to readjust their cropping systems where necessary for 5 years or more, to carry out fertilizer and other practices, to keep complete records, make full reports, and to open their farms to inspection tours by the community farmers at desired intervals. In return for this extra labor and risk, the Authority furnishes to the test-demonstration farmer, through the county committee, sufficient phosphate fertilizer to make the readjusted program

effective. The farmer pays the freight and handling charges and also furnishes whatever lime and fertilizers are necessary to make the phosphate effective.

The community committees, chosen by the farmers, select the community test-demonstration farm and work with the college representatives and the farmer in mapping its soils, in readjusting its crop and livestock practices if necessary, and in supervising the test demonstration. The county committee, with the college representatives, approves the selection of community farms; requisitions, receives, pays the freight upon, and distributes to the test-demonstration farmers the shipments of phosphate, and collects the prorated freight charges from them.

The totals of committee members and test-demonstration farmers, in 1939, were:

	<i>Number</i>
Community test-demonstration committeemen.....	1, 920
County test-demonstration committeemen.....	1, 405
Total.....	3, 325
Community test-demonstration farmers:	
In 7 Valley States.....	10, 734
In non-Valley States.....	2, 066
Total.....	12, 800
Area test-demonstration farmers.....	12, 910
Grand total.....	29, 035

Summary of Assisting Citizens

<i>Name of Citizen Groups</i>	<i>Members</i>
AAA: Local committees.....	135, 591
County land-use committees.....	72, 000
Extension Service: Volunteer program leaders.....	586, 600
FCA: Association directors and committees.....	36, 574
FSA: Local committees.....	26, 753
Grazing Service: District advisory boards.....	547
REA: Association directors.....	4, 900
Soil conservation district supervisors.....	855
Tennessee Valley committees and test-demonstrators.....	29, 035
Total.....	892, 855

Volunteer Cooperative Observers and Reporters

Several units of government have the cooperation of many citizens who observe, record, and transmit desired data basic to agricultural adjustment and conservation and therefore to action programs. In some cases, these observations must be made daily at specified hours, thus requiring a high degree of dependability.

Three Federal agencies obtain much important information from such volunteers, nearly all of whom are unpaid. These agencies are the Division of Agricultural Statistics of the Agricultural Marketing Service, and the Weather Bureau, both in the Department of Agriculture, and the Bureau of Biological Survey, now of the Department of the Interior.

There are 514,931 such volunteers, including 500,000 crop and livestock reporters, 3,366 bird-migration observers and banders, and 11,565 weather-bureau observers.

The work of the crop and livestock reporters includes the furnishing of estimates of crop conditions, crop acreage (including intentions to plant), crop yields, and crop production; farm value of products, gross income, cash income reports on field crops, cotton, fruit crops, truck, and canning crops, livestock, dairy products, and poultry and eggs; farm price reports, including annual prices on crops and livestock, monthly prices of crops and livestock sold, and quarterly prices of 175 articles that are bought by farmers.

The Bureau of Biological Survey is concerned with the conservation and development of the animal and bird resources of the Nation, and requires periodic knowledge of the existing numbers of the different species of wildlife, especially after periods of unfavorable climatic conditions or man-made destruction of breeding sites or feeding areas. Observers report on arrivals, numbers, and departures of all observed species in both spring and fall migrations, and on the relative abundance of breeding individuals. Special observers of migratory waterfowl make similar records and reports on ducks and geese on the same flyways in North America. One observer recently completed 61 years of continuous service.

One important method of determining how far, to where, and in what periods of time, migrating birds may travel, is through the use of numbered metal bands attached to the legs of birds. Special Federal and State permits are issued to qualified persons willing to perform this service and keep the necessary records. The bands carry a request that anyone finding a bird with band attached shall report the location and date of finding and the band number to the Survey. In 1939, 436,785 birds were banded. Approximately 27,000 returns were received. Since 1920 a total of 3,284,142 birds have been banded and 202,913 returns received.

For many decades the Weather Bureau of the Department of Agriculture has enlisted thousands of volunteer weather observers and reporters of daily and weekly weather data.

A British Experiment in Cooperative Farming

by MURRAY R. BENEDICT

BRITAIN, like the United States, has had to face the problems created by smokeless stacks and idle men. With the decline of her coal and iron industries, thousands went on the dole and stayed there. Young families grew up not knowing what it was to have wage-earning members in their groups. Men lost their skills, grew old on relief, and sank to new depths of physical and mental incompetence. These conditions were most prevalent in areas engaged primarily in the heavy industries.

In 1934 the Government undertook to improve these conditions by passing the Special Areas (Development and Improvement) Act, that initiated programs with numerous ramifications. The cooperative farming ventures discussed here constitute only a minor part of the whole program and, in fact, are not the major phase even of the land settlement activities. The plan of operation and the experience hitherto, however, have significant interest in view of various American undertakings of a somewhat similar type.

Activities looking to the provision of employment for idle workers in these "depressed" or "special" areas have included the channeling of Government orders to their industries, the erection of new factories to encourage light industries, public-works projects, special-training programs, encouragements to migration, and many others.

Putting Idle Workers On the Land

Along with these measures, however, there has been a carefully planned and rather extensive program for establishing unemployed workers on the land. Its major phases have centered around the small tenant holding (with provisions for preliminary training and testing of applicants), the workers' garden program, and similar undertakings. The Welsh Land Settlement Association has, however, started a few rather large-scale cooperative farms. One of these is the Boverton Castle Cooperative near Cardiff, another the Sealand Manor Cooperative near Chester, in the northeast corner of Wales. The two ventures are the best known and the farthest advanced.

Because of certain similarities to some of the Farm Security Administration projects in the United States it seems worthwhile to describe these, even though it is still too early for any dependable appraisal of their long-term prospects. Possibly even more interesting than their similarities to the American enterprises are the various dissimilarities

arising from differences in concept, environment, temperaments, and experience of workers and administrators.

In the first place, the British scheme is less directly a governmental undertaking than the American. The Land Settlement Association is a semiprivate agency formed as a nonprofit corporation. To this agency grants have been provided by the Development Commissioners mostly on a pound-for-pound basis. The program is administered mainly by agencies that bear a relationship to the Government that is more like that of the American Red Cross than that of the F. S. A. The Government to some extent enters as a silent partner, through matching grants, and also provides a measure of administrative control. A considerable portion of the input of private funds came from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees.

68 Workers Replace 8 Men

The Boverton Castle Cooperative was formed April 1, 1937. Boverton Place farm, 652 acres near Llantwit Major, a few miles from Cardiff, Wales, was acquired and leased to the society for 24 years. Rental is calculated at 3 percent on the cost of acquisition and capital development. At the time the project was initiated, 60 acres were under the plow, the remainder having been used for many generations for the production of livestock.

It is one of the few large areas of relatively level land in the immediate vicinity of Cardiff, an industrial city of about 225,000. At the first annual meeting in March 1938, Capt. Geoffrey Crawshay, chairman of the Council of Management, was able to report that 620 acres were then under plow. Two years earlier the farm had provided employment for 8 men. By the time of his report it was furnishing regular work for 68 men and regular or casual employment for 16 sons and 18 daughters of settlers, as well as considerable work for casual employees from outside the cooperative.

It was estimated that wages earned previously on this farm would amount to perhaps £800 a year (roughly \$3,760). During the 10 months covered by the report, £9,245 had been paid out in regular and casual wages (about \$43,450). Produce had been sold to the value of nearly £20,000 (\$94,000). The verified records showed a net profit for the first 10 months of £1,755 (\$8,248). (Dollar figures are approximated to the exchange rate which prevailed at the time of the writer's visit, about \$4.70 to the pound.) Of the net profit, £500 were placed in reserve and £125 set aside for income taxes. This left a little more than £1,130 (\$5,311) to be divided among the members.

Records were not available for the succeeding year, but comments by the chairman of the Council of Management for the Welsh Land Settlement Society indicated continuous progress and satisfactory results.

Acreage under glass (mainly for tomato production) had been increased from $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres to 3 acres. A substantial capacity in mushroom cellars had been developed. A small start had been made in poultry production. Crops, with one exception, had been good, and prices were well maintained. The strawberry crop on 70 acres was harmed by drouth and cold wet weather.

Modern Housing Amid Romantic Antiquity

Before undertaking more analysis of the project certain details concerning the physical facilities and methods of operation will be of interest. Some 70 houses in units of 2 to the structure have been erected. These are substantially built of brick. Each residence contains 5 rooms. Each has a garden plot. The houses are arranged around a central green that the residents are expected to improve as their community becomes more settled.

The area is rich in historical interest. Almost in the front door yard of the settlement are the ruins of Boverton Castle, girlhood home of the wife of King John, and his last stopping place in his flight from the throne.

The participating cooperators are not of agricultural background. They are former miners or industrial employees. They were purposely so chosen, and are not expected to know (at the beginning) how to farm. They work in groups under foremen and with the kind of organization to which they have been accustomed in industry. Each is paid a weekly wage of 36 shillings (about \$8.50) plus allowances for overtime and a share in the bonus which may arise from profits. The wage is the rate officially fixed for farm workers by the local county wage board. In addition they receive a weekly free distribution of vegetables estimated to be worth 2s. 9d. (about \$0.60). Other members of the family may work also, thus adding to the family income. Total average earnings in cash and kind were about \$10.75 a week, not counting payments to wives and children.

Workers Have Little Voice in Management

Residents of the houses are charged 4 shillings a week as rental. This rate is fixed by the local agricultural wages committee and, like rentals on most farm workers' cottages throughout Britain, represents considerably less than an economic return on the investment in housing.

In all parts of England, Scotland, and Wales considerable subsidies are provided by the central government and by some of the county councils for construction and reconditioning of farm-workers' cottages.

Management and policies are held rather completely in the hands of the sponsoring agencies. The cooperators have an advisory committee but are not expected, at least for the present, to exercise many

of the management functions. An effort is made, however, to have this committee settle internal personal problems, such as elimination of individuals regarded as detrimental to the group, and also to sponsor noneconomic activities of the community.

The scheme apparently does not contemplate even eventually the ownership of the land by the cooperators or the complete assumption of management functions by them. The development of social activities is regarded benevolently by the management, but the initiative is left to the cooperators. They have reconditioned an old stone building for parties, dances, and similar activities.

Good Homes, Good Work, Good Returns

What are the conclusions that may warrantably be drawn from the brief history of this interesting undertaking? Certainly it would be premature for anyone to hazard positive statements, but a few comments may be helpful in relating the limited experience there to some of our own related problems.

The project appears to have accomplished certain desirable things. It has provided some 70 families with comfortable, substantial homes in wholesome and attractive surroundings. It has given productive, healthful work to family heads and to members of their families. Thus far it has been surprisingly successful financially.

Can this relatively satisfactory record be maintained? Can the venture be duplicated elsewhere with similarly satisfactory results? These questions were raised with a prominent agricultural economist familiar with the area. His replies point out certain cautions that may need consideration in generalizing about ventures of this type. First he pointed out certain peculiarly favorable circumstances applying to this particular project which would be difficult, perhaps impossible to duplicate in other similar ventures. Among these were:

1. The land was one of the few really good pieces of plow land near Cardiff. It was fertile and ripe for such development under strictly private initiative but, because of the nature of its ownership, had been retained in livestock production probably long after it should, from a profit standpoint, have been turned to more intensive uses. In other words, it was a rather shrewd purchase whether for private or cooperative development.

2. For various reasons Cardiff had never had an important local supply of vegetables, but for generations had received supplies from truck-growing areas of England. Hence the Boverton Cooperators had at their door a large market in which they had peculiar advantages. This again is a condition not too easily duplicated in many areas, though there appears to be a growing market for British-grown vegetables almost all through the United Kingdom, partly as a result of

restrictive tariffs on supplies coming from southern Europe and partly because of a growing use of vegetables in the British diet.

3. The cooperative has been fortunate apparently in obtaining an able manager, who had experience with fairly large-scale farming and proved to be a shrewd buyer and a shrewd seller. The management is, of course, selected by the Welsh Land Settlement rather than by the group of cooperators.

The Sealand Manor Enterprise

The project at Sealand Manor is similar in many respects, but has had thus far a somewhat less encouraging experience. It was started at about the same time as the Boverton venture, but was apparently less happy in the selection both of management and membership. Also, the land chosen was of lower fertility than that at Boverton. Within the past year some changes have been made in the membership, management, and methods of compensation. This may correct a number of the early difficulties.

The Sealand Manor farm, slightly larger than that at Boverton, has about 800 acres in two parcels, rather than one. In June 1939, there were 78 families. The land lies slightly below sea level and had not been kept in a high state of tilth before the Land Settlement Society acquired it. Probably its natural fertility is not so good as that of the tract at Boverton.

There also was more difficulty in adjusting the cooperating workers to the program. After rather lengthy consideration, four of those considered unsuited to the organization were eliminated through action by the cooperators themselves. The management was also changed.

After some experimenting with various devices, much of the work was placed on a piece work basis and, in the opinion of the present management, this arrangement was more successful than the original weekly wage plan. Workers were making as much as 52 shillings per week, about 50 percent more than their previous wage. The manager stated that they were getting the work done as cheaply as before and with more satisfaction all around. There was apparently a feeling both among workers and management that some of the individuals were not willing to do their share in making the project a success. The shift to piece work apparently had eliminated most of this difficulty.

800 Acres Support 450 Persons

The project was employing all of the 78 cooperators and was using practically all available time of sons, daughters, and wives of the co-operators. Some casual help was also employed. About 450 persons were living on the place. The farm produces cabbages, potatoes, cauliflower, brussels sprouts, and similar crops. Little difficulty had been

experienced in disposing of the produce. Crops generally seemed in good condition.

Conversations with some of the workers indicated a fair degree of satisfaction on their part, though an absence of the enthusiasm which apparently has marked the situation on the Boverton farm. Some men, whose children were all too small to take part in the work, said they were unable to earn enough to meet the extra expenses of the winter months. Some thought that farming methods might be changed to advantage, for example, the use of animal manures instead of commercial fertilizers, more production of such crops as oats, and so on.

It seems doubtful, however, that these men were sufficiently aware of the necessity for intensive production to be good judges of changes of this kind which might be desirable. One may expect, however, that as the settlers become more adjusted to their new environment, as the quality of the soil is built up, and as early mistakes are corrected, the results will become increasingly satisfactory.

Businessmen and Social Experiments

The use on both these projects of ex-industrial workers rather than ex-farmers puts a markedly different complexion on the problem from that which exists in most of the cooperative farming ventures in the United States. For workers having this industrial background the plan of operating in groups under head men seems not only appropriate but probably almost the only procedure that could be used.

Where American ex-farmers, with their background of individual work and real or assumed knowledge of how to perform farm tasks are so settled, there is reason to question whether such methods would not give rise to considerable opposition. This difference in background may also justify and in fact necessitate the larger degree of overhead control of the affairs of the group which seems to mark the British undertakings.

In this venture, as well as in many of the others in Britain, general management seems to have been placed rather more largely in the hands of business men than has been customary in recent years in the United States. One reason for this probably lies in the apparently greater willingness of experienced British businessmen to take part in social experimentation and public welfare activities. Interest in such ventures on the part of the business community appears to be much more widespread than in the United States.

One of the notable features of the various lines of attack on the British unemployment problem lies in the wide diversity in types of activity. There is apparently little rigidity in the pattern of procedure. Numerous kinds of undertakings are tried.

Emphasis seems to be upon the objectives rather than upon the method.

The Migrants

How many farmers are there among the migrants now in California? How many of them have found farm work? How much do they earn? These are among the questions answered in this article, the fourth of a series about migrants in the Pacific coast area.

IV. Jobs on Farms in California

by VARDEN FULLER and SEYMOUR J. JANOW

CROP production in California requires an estimated 50,000 to 150,000 competent seasonal workers, besides regularly hired workers, and members of operators' families. A limited and at least temporary absorption of migrants into agriculture has occurred, not because of labor scarcity in the aggregate, but because of particular factors of labor demand and supply.

These circumstances make possible the spreading of a limited amount of employment over a large number of workers. This, in turn, leads to serious under-employment of those who are able more or less effectively to compete for the work.

Labor requirements on individual farms and within specialized areas are intense for relatively short periods. Before 1930 the demand for seasonal labor in the various specialized areas generally exceeded the resident labor supply, and, since the peak periods do not come simultaneously, seasonal workers have been able to increase their annual employment by moving about from one district to another. Some seasonal workers have been able to maintain permanent residences by working on different farms and in different crops within their locality.

Large numbers of workers per employer, short periods of employment, and the great proportion of the workers who before 1930 were not members of the community have conduced to highly impersonal relations between employers and workers. An out-of-State worker could therefore compete on almost equal terms with State residents for available jobs.

California agricultural labor groups always have been heterogeneous. For most seasonal workers, there has been no stable employment relation to a particular farm.

When fruit production and other intensive cultivation was developing during the 1860's and 1870's, Chinese immigrants made up the

bulk of the casual and seasonal labor supply. After 1882, Chinese laborers were no longer permitted to immigrate, and until 1900 native whites were employed in increasing numbers. When employment conditions began to improve after 1900, Japanese and Hindu immigrants became the principal source of seasonal labor until toward the end of the decade when their immigration was stopped. From 1909 until the arrival of war prosperity in 1916, the conditions of the 1890's were again experienced and economic stagnation forced large numbers of native whites again into seasonal agricultural work. For the prosperous 1920's, Mexico and the Philippines were the chief sources of the seasonal agricultural labor supply.

The hiring of native whites during the 1930's is therefore not unprecedented. There are now these chief differences: Heretofore the native whites in seasonal agricultural work during depression periods have been mostly single men, whereas during the 1930's the workers have been primarily family groups. The single whites followed the migratory paths of the immigrant groups, but the white families are attempting to establish permanent homes.

With such a supply of labor, and the demand chiefly short-term, scattered, and concentrated among a few large-scale employers, distressed migrants from the South Plains States could compete with residents for the limited work. And even though employment opportunities in California have been circumscribed, they have been relatively attractive to persons whose economic opportunities elsewhere virtually had vanished.

The Proportion Engaged in Agriculture Has Declined

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics has estimated that approximately 190,000 persons moved from other States into 12 counties (Sutter, Yuba, Placer, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Merced, Madera, Fresno, Kings, Tulare, and Kern) of the great interior valley of California after January 1930 and were still there in May 1939. A B.A.E. survey through the agency of the public schools enumerated 20,279 migrant families in these counties. Of these families, 38 percent reported that they were engaged in agriculture. Almost one-half reported that they had farmed before migrating to California.

Thus, two widespread beliefs—that the migration of the past decade has been almost entirely of an agricultural origin and that agriculture in California has absorbed the bulk of the migrants—are not supported by the findings of this survey.

The migration was less than one-half agricultural to begin with, and there has been a net shift from farming in connection with the migration. Since the above proportions represent predominantly agricultural areas, it is almost certain that, when the more highly industrialized

areas are included in the analysis, the respective agricultural proportions for the State as a whole will be found to be even smaller.

Migrant family heads engaged in agriculture in California are occupied principally as farm laborers, whereas before migration they were principally farm operators.

Percentage of total migrant group who were—	Before migrating to California	In California (April 1939)
Farmers.....	28.4	7.8
Farm laborers.....	19.4	30.8
Total agricultural.....	47.8	38.6

Of the present farm laborers among the migrant group, 38 percent were formerly farm laborers and 36 percent formerly were farm operators; thus, approximately one-fourth of the migrants now working on farms previously were not engaged in agriculture at all.

The Cases of 1,000 Migrant Families in California

As a part of the broad study of recent migration to the Pacific coast, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics made a detailed study of 1,000 families now located near Los Angeles and in the Sacramento, San Joaquin, and Salinas Valleys.

These families were found living in new communities created by resettled migrants. Only those families were selected who had had some experience in agriculture, the minimum being at least 1 year of experience by one member of the family. Nearly all had been engaged in agriculture before going to California, but a few were included who had previously been engaged in nonagricultural industries and had been employed in farming since arrival.

Of the 1,000 families, 37 percent had come from Oklahoma, 16 percent from Texas, 9 percent from Arkansas, and 8 percent from Missouri. These four States contributed 70 percent; the rest were scattered principally throughout the southern, midwestern, and western States. Approximately 28 percent of the migrant families arrived in California in 1936 and 63 percent arrived between 1935 and 1937.

As to year of arrival, there is a significant difference between this 1,000-family group and those included in the school survey. The latter indicated substantial proportions of migration in years other than 1935-37, but the 1,000-family investigation showed a greater concentration in this 3-year period, which immediately followed severe drought

in the South Plains States. This suggests that the 1,000-family sample group represents a relatively great proportion of distressed migration.

An Average Net Worth of \$265

The extent of economic distress under which the families in this sample arrived in California can be judged by the fact that the average net value of their assets upon arrival was \$265. Of this, \$111 was in cash, \$101 was in the value of car and trailer, and the remainder was in household goods and miscellaneous belongings.

This average is greatly raised by a few relatively well-fixed families; approximately one-half of the families had a net worth of less than \$100 and three-fourths were below \$400. It is thus evident that most of the families had to obtain manual employment immediately upon arrival.

Frequently the migrants to California have been accused of being shiftless, nomadic, and not interested in permanent employment or homes. The indications from the 1,000-family study were to the contrary.

It has been found that 11.3 years was the average period of residence in the State of origin—the last State in which the family lived at least 1 year before departure for California.

Moreover, that the migration was purposeful may be judged from the fact that there was little wandering about in the interval between departure from former State of residence and arrival in California; 85 percent of the families arrived in California within the calendar year in which they departed from their former homes. Within California, residence has also been rather highly stabilized.

Of the 1,000 families, more than one-half went directly to their present communities upon arrival in the State and have remained there since. This coincides with the experience of the families enumerated in the school survey in the 12 counties; one-half of that group also have lived in their present counties throughout their period of residence in the State.

The Typical Migrant Is Not a Wanderer

Clearly, the typical migrant included in these studies is not a nomadic wanderer, but one who purposefully left an inhospitable economic environment to seek a more favorable one. Whenever the term "migrant" is used in this connection, it should be interpreted as describing one who has changed his State of residence rather than a continuously migratory person or family.

Efforts to achieve a foothold in California have taken a number of different lines. Approximately 40 percent of the 1,000-family group have purchased real estate since arrival. The average contract price of

the property purchased is \$560. Cash improvements of \$256 and labor improvements of \$54 made subsequent to purchase have increased the present valuation to an average of \$870. Since the average unpaid balance on the property and improvements in the spring of 1939 was \$405, the average net equity at that time was \$465. (These averages were determined on the basis of the families who actually purchased property, not all families in the sample.)

For the group as a whole, practically all savings since arrival in California have gone into property purchases and improvements. In some cases the effort to acquire and improve small properties has gone so far as to make serious inroads upon diet and needed medical attention. Most of the land purchased is useful only for building sites; not much can be used for gardening or farming. The typical purchase contract was made with less than \$50 paid down, with the remainder, with interest at 6 percent, to be paid at the rate of \$10 to \$15 a month.

Another indication of intention to settle down is that approximately 65 percent of the migrant family heads have become registered voters in California. Most said they had migrated to California because they had been told there were opportunities for work at good wages. Only a few reported that they came because they had seen advertisements of jobs. The presence of friends and relatives in California also was given frequently as the reason for migration, more often than health, climate, or other related reasons.

Employment as Agricultural Laborers in 1938

As previously indicated, all of the 1,000-family group at some time had been engaged in agriculture—three-fourths had farmed immediately before departure for California. Most of them had some agricultural labor in 1938. Some, however, had been employed at other industries exclusively and some had not been employed at all. When the families are classified according to their *principal source of income* during the year, the result is as follows: (Complete income data were not obtained from all families, hence the total for this classification is 953.)

	Number	Percent
1. Agricultural labor.....	364	38
2. Labor in packing, canning, and processing of agricultural products..	76	8
3. Labor in nonagricultural industries.....	214	23
4. Dependent principally upon public assistance.....	299	31
Total.....	953	100

Many of the families in groups 2 and 3 received small amounts of employment in agriculture. For the families in group 4, however, agricultural labor was the principal source of nonpublic-assistance income. The question therefore arises as to the minimum employment which should be required in classifying a family in the agricultural

labor as against the public-assistance group. Within category 4, there are 93 families whose principal source of nonpublic-assistance income was agricultural labor and who earned at least \$100 from agricultural employment. There are 69 other families who are in the same classification, except that they earned less than \$100 from agricultural labor.

TABLE 1.—*Composition of average family incomes for 1938—Three groups of recently settled migrant families with some agricultural employment in California*

	Group I ^a (364 fam- ilies)	Group IA ^b (93 fam- ilies)	Group IB ^c (69 fam- ilies)	All groups (526 fam- ilies)
Employment:	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Agriculture.....	75.5	30.3	8.9	61.5
Canning, packing, and processing agricultural products.....	5.0	1.5	.2	3.9
Nonagricultural industries.....	6.4	2.1	.3	5.1
Total industrial earnings.....	86.9	33.9	9.4	70.5
Total public assistance.....	12.5	65.8	90.1	29.0
Other income.....	.6	.3	.5	.5
Total income.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average income.....	\$759.88	\$645.78	\$549.64	\$712.13

^a Families with agricultural labor as main source of income.

^b Families principally dependent on public assistance but with at least \$100 in earnings from agricultural labor as principal nonpublic-assistance source.

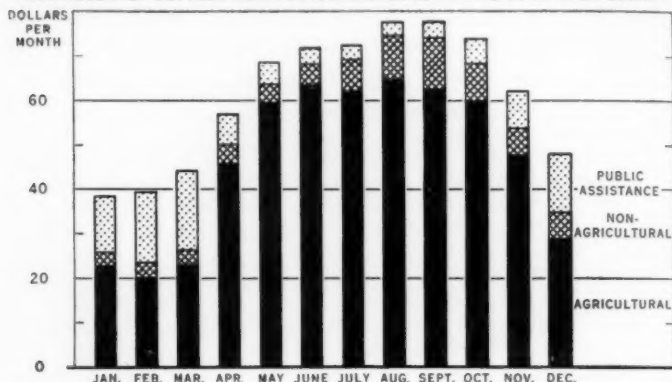
^c Same as group IA but with less than \$100 from agricultural labor.

These three possible classifications of agricultural laborers and their respective incomes are compared in table 1. Group I, representing families most successfully engaged in agricultural labor, made three-fourths of its income from this source, and received only one-eighth from public assistance. For the next grouping, those making at least \$100 in agricultural labor, the average income falls from \$760 to \$646, of which 30 percent is from agricultural labor and 66 percent is from public assistance.

The average income of the final grouping, those earning less than \$100 from agricultural labor, was \$550, of which 90 percent was received from public assistance. When all of these groups are combined, the average income is found to be \$712, of which more than 60 percent was earned from agricultural labor and less than 30 percent received from public assistance. The combined grouping, while not including all families in the sample who performed agricultural labor during the

AVERAGE ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME FOR 1938 BY MONTHS AND SOURCES

306 RECENTLY SETTLED AGRICULTURAL LABORER FAMILIES IN CALIFORNIA



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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year, does include all for whom agricultural labor was the principal source of nonpublic-assistance income.

Subsequent analysis of employment and earnings will be based on the 364 families who may be considered as having experienced relative success in entering into the agricultural labor field.

Of the 364 families whose principal source of income was agricultural labor, only 15 percent made all of their income from this source. Only 33 percent were able to avoid public assistance entirely; the modal combination, as shown below, was agricultural labor plus public assistance:

	Percent
Agricultural labor only.....	15
Agricultural labor and other employment.....	18
Agricultural labor and public assistance.....	35
Agricultural labor, other employment and public assistance.....	32

Thus two-thirds of the group who were relatively successful in getting agricultural employment had to seek public assistance sometime during 1938, but the extent of dependence upon public assistance was relatively slight—only one-eighth of the average income for the group was received from this source.

One of the characteristics of seasonal employment is that several members of the family work whenever jobs are to be found. Sometimes no member of the family was working; sometimes several were employed. It was found that during the slack season almost one-half of the families had no member employed at any time during

January, February, and March. Even during the busy season, approximately one-tenth of the families had no employed member in June, July, August, and September. As jobs became more plentiful in the harvest season the average days of employment per worker rose but the number of workers per family increased more rapidly; from a low point of 0.7 persons employed during February and March, the average increased to 1.7 employed persons per family during September.

A person was counted as employed within each month if he received at least 1 day of employment; the extent of under-employment is to be seen in the fact that at no time during the year did the average days of employment per employed person rise as high as 19 days a month. This group of families received an average of 245 days of employment per family, and an average of 198 days per worker. Of the 198 days, 148 were in agriculture.

TABLE 2.—*Number of workers and man-days employment^a per family during 1938*
306 recently settled farm labor families^b

Month	Percent families with designated number of workers				Average number working ^c	Average man-days work per family	Average man-days of work per worker
	None working	1 working	2 working	3 working			
January.....	44.1	39.6	9.5	3.9	0.8	10.7	13.4
February.....	49.3	37.6	8.2	1.6	.7	9.0	12.9
March.....	48.3	39.2	8.5	.7	.7	9.6	13.7
April.....	23.5	55.2	14.7	4.3	1.1	18.8	17.1
May.....	13.4	59.5	18.3	3.6	1.3	23.6	18.2
June.....	11.1	57.2	20.9	5.6	1.4	25.7	18.4
July.....	11.8	56.5	19.6	6.5	1.4	26.4	18.9
August.....	11.8	52.6	21.9	6.5	1.5	27.4	18.3
September.....	9.5	49.7	22.5	6.9	1.7	29.6	17.4
October.....	13.4	47.0	24.5	6.9	1.5	26.9	17.9
November.....	21.9	43.8	20.9	7.8	1.3	22.7	17.5
December.....	36.6	40.2	14.7	5.5	1.0	14.5	14.5
Average.....	24.6	48.1	17.0	5.0	1.2	20.4	16.5

^a Excluding W. P. A., C. C. C., and N. Y. A., and including all gainful employment whether in agriculture or nonagricultural industries.

^b 58 of the 364 families are excluded because of insufficient data.

^c Because of space limitations, figures are omitted showing the percentage of families with 4 and 5 workers.

The 364 relatively successful families of farm laborers received more than 10 percent of their income from employment in nonagricultural

industries. It is a matter of considerable interest to know whether this employment was received at such time during the year as to dovetail with the highly seasonal agricultural employment.

In the chart, average incomes are classified by months and by source. It is evident that there was no compensation in seasonality as between agricultural work and other employment. Actually, the two are highly correlated over the year. This is inescapable because a large part of the employment received outside of agriculture was in the canning, packing, and processing of agricultural commodities, and activity in these lines is closely geared to activity in the fields. The only dovetailing which takes place is in the receipt of public assistance which is adjusted contraseasonally with earnings and does to a limited degree compensate for the seasonality in earnings from employment.

Higher Living Costs Cut Into Earnings

Although the average income for this group of families in 1938 was \$760, this average is materially affected by the influence of a few relatively large incomes. The median income was approximately \$650. More than one-fifth earned less than \$450, almost one-half earned less than \$600, and only one-fourth earned more than \$750. Compared directly with incomes of people similarly occupied in the States from which these migrant families came, these incomes appear to be very favorable. In terms of real income, the difference is not so great as it would seem, however. Besides the relatively higher living costs of California, there is the cost of seeking and traveling to work. In order effectively to pursue agricultural employment in many different types of crops and on many farms within the vicinity of an established residence, an automobile is practically indispensable. Its operating cost cuts deeply into the earnings.

A few of the agricultural laborer families have been able to supplement their wages by producing and selling garden products and by miscellaneous activities like cutting and selling wood. Income from these sources was small, however. Small amounts of additional income were received in kind from employers and from the surplus commodities program. Many of these families have also received the benefits of free medical attention.

Progress of Families Resettled as Farm Laborers

The financial position of the 1,000 families was weak at the time of arrival in California. For the group as a whole, there has been little measurable financial progress during the period of residence in the State. Except for equities in real property, there has been no growth in net worth. Those resettled in certain localities have experienced more favorable employment opportunities and have advanced their financial position more noticeably than those located in others. There

have also been wide differences among individual families in regard to their economic progress during their period of stay in California.

With real-estate equities included in an analysis of net worth change, the average increase for all families, regardless of whether they have purchased property or not, for their entire period of residence in California, is approximately \$140. Moreover, average increase in net worth, including equities in property, is greater for those who have been relocated the longer.

The failure of the families of the 1,000-family group to demonstrate significant financial progress can be too harshly interpreted. These people are limited in occupational experience and in financial strength. They are, however, trying to establish themselves socially and economically in scores of new communities which are springing up throughout the State. These families are in a position, should a more favorable economic environment appear, to make rapid strides toward their own rehabilitation.

Economic Prospects for Those Relocated

Many factors must be reckoned with in appraising the economic future of those engaged in agricultural labor in California. First of all, of course, is the fact that the economic future of agricultural laborers is tied up inescapably with the present structure as well as the future of the whole industry. As the structure of farm sizes and degree of specialization in production are now, only approximately one-fourth of all agricultural laborers can be regularly employed on an annual basis. The remainder must seek short-term casual and seasonal jobs in many different crops and on many different farms.

If alternative opportunities in other industries should develop sufficiently to draw away the present agricultural laborer surplus, the situation for those remaining would be much improved. If a group just large enough to meet the maximum seasonal need were utilized efficiently throughout the year, the amount of employment per worker would be greatly increased.

Considerable mobility, from farm to farm and from crop to crop, would still be required, however. Should general economic activity rise to a point where labor was in great demand, nonagricultural enterprises might be established in the rural areas to utilize the labor time of agricultural workers during the slack season.¹

¹ The authors wish to acknowledge their indebtedness to Davis McEntire, leader of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Pacific Area, who initiated this project and under whose supervision it has been conducted; to Jean Claire Bowman, junior statistical clerk, Division of Land Economics, who supervised the statistical tabulations, and to Prof. Paul S. Taylor of the University of California for his helpful assistance and advice in initiating the study of the 1,000 families and for providing field enumerators from among his graduate students.

The Community in County Planning

by DOUGLAS ENSMINGER

IT IS true to the point of truism that a man's world begins with himself and extends outward to include his family, his neighbors, his community, his county, his State. The community occupies the central point in this scale of instinct, thought, loyalties, and social contacts; it provides the most effective unit for county planning because of the established ties among its members.

I was reminded of this when I asked a southern farm woman about the most convenient place for a local meeting to discuss farm and home problems.

"We are just a little different from the other people in the county, and prefer to have our own meetings," she replied.

I asked her to locate on a map the homes of those she meant when she said "We are different." She indicated 14 neighbors, all within a small area.

"Where would these people meet if they came together?"

"The Holmstead church is our only center," she answered. "It is convenient, and we are accustomed to going there. We could and would go there to attend any group meetings and, because of our feelings toward each other, would discuss our local problems freely."

Here we have an important point. People in a rural community—if not in any community—have a feeling of belonging to the area in which they live. They associate with neighbors in schools, churches, and other organizations. They know each other and have many things in common. The sense of community responsibility may not be present always, but usually it can be counted upon in situations that call for concerted action.

How to Mark the Extent of a Community

Often the larger rural community will have a village as its "center." One way to determine community boundaries is to draw lines on a map around areas within which farm families tend naturally to meet together; information on this point can be obtained from persons from different sections of the county and familiar with the farm families in all districts, or from technically trained persons who have toured the county, stopping at farm homes, at crossroads stores, and at other centers to inquire about the boundary lines of community feeling.

The woman to whom I spoke had delimited her own neighborhood group. It remained for her to identify those who could be considered

members of the community and the center that would be the best meeting place for discussion and planning.

"Now suppose we wanted to call together several neighborhood groups to discuss the agricultural problems of this part of the county," I inquired. "Where should such a meeting be conducted and who would attend?"

"Well," she replied, "we go to the county seat for our banking, for picture shows, and to buy most of our things, but we aren't greatly interested in what goes on there. I guess the Lone Point high school is really our community center. Our children go there and there is a good general store nearby which we use. We know most of the people around here fairly well."

"In how large an area surrounding the school and general store are people interested and well enough acquainted to come together if a community meeting were called at the school?" I asked.

To answer the question, she pointed out the various roads leading from the center and indicated the most distant points at which families would probably have community interests. In this way, anybody interested in determining a community area can mark on a map the place that is just about the farthest from the center on each road—the place at which one might stand and say, "From this point to the village most of the people are identified with that center, go there to trade, to attend church, school, organization meetings, or to participate in other activities. *These are the people who would attend a community meeting held at that center.*"

For the rest of the day I had similar interviews with farm men and women, ministers, school teachers, and the storekeeper. Six "neighborhoods" were identified in this way. Each expressed more interest in working with the other five than would be the case if the community were bounded differently. Furthermore, if a farmer were selected from any one of the 6 groups to serve on a county land-use planning committee, the people from the others would consider him their representative. As a necessary check on the boundaries of the community area, I called on farmers living near the border to discover whether they considered themselves a part of that community area.

Distinctions Between Communities and Neighborhoods

Outlining rural farm communities reveals the tendency toward a variation between the intimate neighborhood social group and the larger community. The difference may arise as a distinction between neighborhoods whose members *know* each other and larger communities whose members *know of* each other. The significance lies in the fact that the more intimate the group—and usually the smaller it is—the

surer the circulation of ideas and the adoption of practices and opinions of the leaders are likely to be. By the same token, the more intimate groups tend to exert greater influence on their members.

Just as the county committee is representative of all the communities of the county, the community committee should be representative of the neighborhoods, or smaller groups of different strength and social status within the community. What, then, is the neighborhood? How is it to be identified and located?

The neighborhood is in a sense what the word itself implies, a small group of families that forms a cluster of neighbors. Generally a neighborhood has a name and a center and usually a school, a church, a store, or some combination of these. Sometimes it is a racial, religious, or nationality group. At any rate, it is a small group of people who know each other intimately, who could easily meet together, and who, because of their close day-by-day relationships, would be very likely to express themselves freely in neighborhood group meetings. Such groups provide the most representative cross-section of information on conditions and local problems in the county.

Identifying Various Neighborhood Areas

A group of well-informed persons from within the community or a technically trained person will be able to identify and map the various neighborhood areas. The procedure is similar to that of mapping community areas. First, all the churches, schools, and trade centers within the community are located. Consideration may then be given to the immediate area surrounding each of these centers to discover the area within which people know each other well, look upon each other as neighbors, consider themselves as being a part of the immediate neighborhood, and *would and could come together if a neighborhood meeting were called*.

Special study should be given to localities where people have a distinct sense of belonging to the area and think of themselves as neighbors, regardless of whether they have services there. Sometimes neighborhood ties either have never existed or are no longer present, but even in such cases it has been possible to outline areas where people can conveniently meet together and within which they have more in common than if they were grouped in any other way.

While the individual families may look to the community center for some church, school, or other services, rural neighborhoods often carry on programs that meet many of the people's needs. Because the people are well acquainted with each other, have neighborhood loyalties, and can easily meet and work together, they will play an important part in making plans and then doing something about the plans.

The number of families within a given neighborhood varies greatly. In any case, the neighborhood contains too few families to provide a basis for a local farm club or to warrant a separate farm meeting. Even in such cases it should not be inferred that these small neighborhoods do not constitute a local farm group whose self-consciousness and whose problems are sufficiently well defined to justify representation within the larger grouping to which the small neighborhood might be attached for practical purposes.

There is no hard and fast procedure for all this—no reason, for instance, why community areas need be mapped before the neighborhood areas are identified and mapped. In some cases it has been found easier and more desirable to start mapping the smaller neighborhood groups and then determine with what other neighborhoods they will cooperate and thus of what larger group they most logically are a part.

Democratic Planning and the Need for Action

In some cases the community land-use planning committees may find that changes will need to be made in the community boundary line so as to come nearer to including within the bounded area the people who will form the best large working groups of farmers. The assignment of analyzing the boundaries in more detail might be continued by a subcommittee on community life which can then present its findings at a community meeting.

Two questions important to persons engaged in the planning program are: How can planning be done in the most democratic manner? How are we going to get the plans put into action?

If all farmers could be members of a county land-use planning committee, planning would be entirely democratic as it is in some New England town meetings. Obviously, it is not possible to do this, but it is possible to choose the members on the basis of their ability to represent nonmembers.

There is no one best way of choosing the members of such a committee. The county committee may be composed either of the regularly elected chairmen of community committees or of persons elected by community or county-wide elections apart from those held to choose community committee members. By and large, the best guarantee that the committee members will be representative of the majority of the people in their communities is to have the people in the community elect them. When a county committee member represents a definite group, he is usually the spokesman for that group. What he says is influenced by their experience as well as his own.

Special-interest groups like the Grange, Farm Bureau, Poultry Association, and others do not give a good cross-section of farmer attitudes

and points of view. Land-use areas or political units—such as wards, townships, beats, or election districts—do not represent clearly defined, active working groups. A community may be made up of parts of several townships, and there may be more than one community in a township, for the natural community lines often extend half their length or breadth into other townships and sometimes into adjoining counties. To hold to the political boundaries in designating communities results, therefore, in splitting the natural working groups and breaking down the established working relationships of the people.

In this connection, a meeting of a county land-use planning committee which I attended occurs to me. The committee members discussed a series of community meetings which had just been held in the county to find out how farmers would react to organizing a soil-conservation district. The county agent was a bit weary, for, as he put it, "I have just met with all the communities in my county and when you meet with 26 communities—in some cases holding 3 meetings a day—you know you have held meetings."

Soon the discussion centered on organizing land-use planning community committees. They were all agreed that it was too much to have 26 land-use planning community committees in the county.

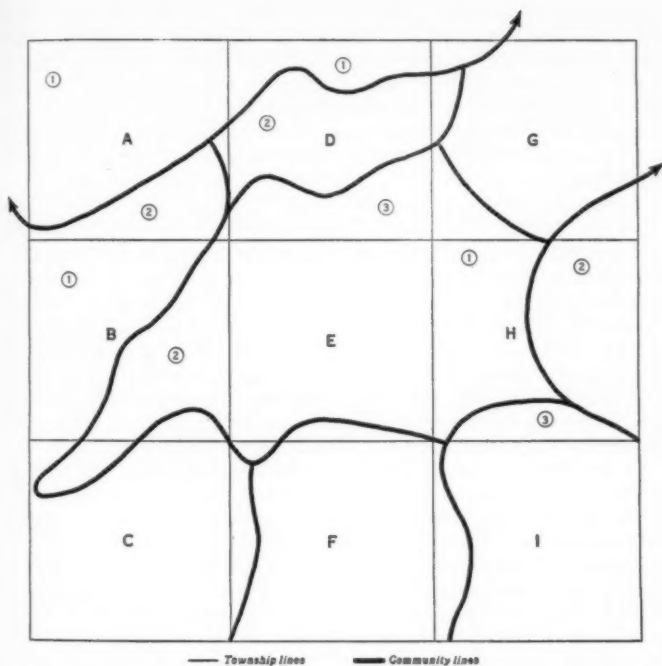
"Not enough days in the calendar year to have three or four meetings in each community and still do my job," was the county agent's comment.

"Why don't we group the communities?" asked one member of the committee. And so the discussion continued. The 26 communities turned out to be election districts—not communities.

A subsequent survey of this county, made at the request of the county committee, revealed 7 distinct and easily bounded communities. It is to these 7 centers, if community meetings were called, that most of the people living within the bounded areas would come.

In a discussion with the author a project leader pointed out that the community committees for the unified county in his State were representative of people of a common interest because each committee was dealing with a more or less uniform problem. These committees were made up of people who lived within the various outlined land-use areas, each of these areas being of a uniform physical nature and thus presenting a uniform economic problem.

Recently a representative of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics commented: "We carried our land-use planning program through this past year and held our discussions on community meetings in the nine townships in the county. Now that we have written our unified report we are beginning to wonder how we are going to get the people to *put the plans into action.*"



— Township lines

— Community lines

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The discussion centered on the response of the people when township meetings were conducted. We drew a sketch of community and township areas, like the accompanying map. In township *A* the people from the *A*₁ part of the area did not appear to be interested in what was going on. The *B* township was somewhat better in this respect, but people from *B*₂ seemed to be more interested in other things. In *C*, *F*, and *I* townships the situation was more satisfactory, for people attended meetings and seemed interested. In the *H* area it was difficult to get people out to meetings and when they did attend, they were inclined to divide into two groups. The response was good in *E*, fair in *D*, and not so good in *G*.

A survey revealed that the *A*₁ and *D*₁ areas were a part of a larger community whose center was outside the county. The *B*₂ area was a

part of the community whose center was in *E*. The *C*, *F*, and *I* township lines corresponded very closely to the community lines. The *H*₁ area was a part of the *E* community, while *H*₂ was struggling to maintain its own identity, wanting to have as little as possible to do with *H*₁. The *G* township was experiencing a number of changes, among which was the loss of an industry. Holding to township lines resulted in less effective working groups in the *A*, *B*, *D*, and *H* townships.

Which Group Should Committee Members Represent?

Regardless of all possible groups that may be represented on a committee, the whole rural community itself provides the most effective unit for planning.

The importance of basing county land-use planning on the community extends through the whole land-use planning process, even when the first group of farmers is called together by the county agent to discuss the planning idea. These are the farmers who will go back and discuss the planning program with other farmers in their communities and in organizations of which they are members.

In fact, the community chairmen will need to depend to a large extent upon the various committee members who are recognized leaders of the various neighborhoods within the community area for making the majority of the farmers "land-use-planning minded."

In due time, these leaders will find it advantageous to call a community-wide meeting so that all of the people will have an opportunity to learn about the proposed plan and perhaps put it to a vote to see whether they want to take part. If the vote is favorable, a plan may then be formulated for the election of one representative from each of the neighborhoods to form a permanent community committee. In many cases, neighborhood meetings are conducted so that more people can participate in the discussion and elect their representative to the community committee. Somewhat the same procedure may bring about the formation of the county committee.

The Functions of Community Committees

It is not assumed here that the community committee necessarily will do all the work of planning. On the contrary, this committee can very well become a coordinating or community advisory council to give leadership and direction to the program of land-use planning in the community. Numerous subcommittees can be set up to work on special community problems or needs, such as subcommittees on land use, soil conservation, home gardens, young people, education, churches,

and community life. Through these subcommittees most of the investigation can be carried on, the greatest number of people may be brought into the program, and new interest may be created in community planning.

An emotional impulse to do something about the recognized problem or need will generally follow open discussions between the leaders and the members of their communities. As a rule, efforts to meet these needs will elicit numerous proposals that will vary greatly and often will actually conflict with each other. So that a fair and sound solution may result and that all interests may be taken into account, the community will in all probability seek to discover the facts—in other words, investigate so that the solution will be founded on facts. Research becomes useful at this point in community action.

Communities Have Individualities

After the investigation, open discussion at a community meeting makes it possible for all sides to be presented. The various points of view can then be integrated and a compromise solution offered which will be acceptable to the greatest number and be more nearly adapted to meet the needs of the individual community.

Communities, like people, have individualities. Although there is a certain amount of uniformity in all communities, each functions in its own way. Because of these differences in community settings and ways of operating, it is not possible to set up any particular method of organizing a community and then expect that method to work in every detail in all the subdivisions of one county, let alone in all sections of the country.¹ The approach is always a practical one.

Each community seeks the most efficient method for itself and because of varying local conditions, has its own starting point toward the goal to be attained: A united community, working toward a definite, practical, long-term plan of development along the lines of its greatest interest and need.

¹ For those who would like to obtain a more detailed statement of how to map community areas, Cornell Extension Bulletin No. 413, *Locating the Rural Community*, June 1939, by Dwight Sanderson, can be obtained from Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. For information on how communities work as groups and how such a group could become a force in planning, these publications may be consulted: *Rural Community Organization*, by Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1939; and *Mobilizing the Rural Community*, by E. L. Morgan, the Massachusetts Agricultural College, Extension Bulletin No. 23, Amherst, September 1918.



Books

REVOLUTION IN LAND. *Charles Abrams. Harper and Brothers. New York. 315 pp. 1939.*

by MELVILLE C. WILLIAMS

IN his book, Mr. Abrams suggests that we are on the threshold of a revolution in land that promises to surpass the significance of the industrial revolution. He sees a single land problem, involving both rural and urban lands, and examines it around the central themes of diffusion of ownership, mechanization, overproduction, unpredictability, taxation, debt, tenancy, waste, decelerating population growth, and public intervention.

Although Henry George predicted that land ownership would dominate our economic structure, Mr. Abrams says that industry has actually done so, and that we have now reached a point where land ownership is too often a liability.

This "enslavement" of land by industry is traced fundamentally, in the case of rural land, to industry's price control of the farmers' purchases, by monopoly and tacit agreements, and to the cyclical swings that have reigned unchecked in the prices of farm products. The "enslavement" of urban lands has followed a different course, but with the same result.

Although the expansion of industry created and fostered urbanization with its myriad social problems and high governmental costs, the difficulties of collecting local taxes on intangibles, of which industrial wealth is largely composed, have enabled industry to avoid its fair share of the tax burden and to shift it to real estate.

THE tools used by industry to gain and maintain its ascendancy have been the mortgage, the land tax, and building construction costs. The mortgage system has tended to cause speculation and over-extension, rather than investment, tempting the man of moderate circumstances to purchase a home with a mortgage so large that he must inevitably default at the next downswing of the business cycle.

The system has also concentrated economic power in the hands of institutional lenders, such as insurance companies and banks, and given them as unwarranted control over land. Thus, the charge is made that dislike of New Deal policies, coupled with a desire to bolster

the security behind excessive mortgage loans by creating an artificial shortage of buildings, caused the institutional lenders to hinder recovery by refusing to make loans for new construction.

It is stated that the land tax is, in effect, a capital levy that cannot be defended upon any logical ground. It falls the heaviest upon the farmer and small home owner; it produces soil "mining" and erosion, and forces land into uneconomic uses. The construction industry is also condemned for placing the cost of home construction far beyond the reach of the average worker by maintaining handicraft methods in a machine age and by establishing virtual monopolies to impose prices as high as the traffic will bear.

THE many Federal activities affecting land are discussed and condemned as being haphazard, unrelated, with not even an attempt to correct the real roots of the problem, and as merely trying to shore up and underpin the excessive land prices, mortgage loans, and other maladjustments that existed at the onslaught of the great depression. Thus the Government, by refinancing home and farm mortgages without adequately scaling down the principal, has saved the mortgagee's investment but only prolonged until the next crash the futile attempts of mortgagors to escape foreclosure.

By June 1938 more than half of the H. O. L. C. loans to refinance homes were in serious and long-standing default, or had already been foreclosed. It is predicted that in the next downswing, and perhaps before, Federal agencies will be faced with the difficult question of whether to engage in mass foreclosures of farm and urban homes.

Mr. Abrams' suggestions for solution sketch only a general outline. The Federal Government would form an integrated national policy of general principles and broad conditions, would supervise compliance with it, and would possess all spending, police, and taxing powers. It is recognized, however, that local initiative must be maintained to check a complete centralization of power and to preserve our democratic institutions. Local autonomy would thus be maintained in some form or other, perhaps in regional land authorities.

The use of land would be planned, and the plan would be implemented by a very extensive land purchase program amounting to a nationalization of all land that could not consistently and logically be left in private ownership.

As companion measures, the tax system would be reformed to distribute its burden more fairly; the field of mortgage finance would be reexamined and major changes made; industrial price policies bearing on the small landowners and tenants would be revised, and further credit would be made available for construction, particularly for self-liquidating housing operations.

The author does not attempt to point out where people will be resettled, how problems of interregional competition will be solved, or

just how an adequate income can be assured to farmers and the unemployed. Presumably, these are to be worked out as details of the national policy. Regardless of whether such a plan could actually be prepared, Mr. Abrams' ideas are undoubtedly interesting and stimulating.

HUNGER AND HISTORY: *The Influence of Hunger on Human History.* E. Parmelee Prentice. \$3.00. Harper and Brothers. New York. 269 pp., XVII. 1939. Illustrated.

by MARY TAYLOR

WHAT idyllic hours, days, and months—if not years—must have gone into the making of this book! Thumbing through bibliotques, museums, libraries, here and abroad; poring over ancient manuscripts; deciphering half-forgotten languages; culling from great and fragmentary records a phrase here and there; piling note upon note, and quote upon quote, to build a picture of the food habits of people from the beginning of time.

No one who has a yen to know what has gone before his generation will fail to be beguiled by the erudition of the record presented here not only of food habits but of modes of food production, types of foods consumed, the want and misery that came with the lack of food, and even of the amenities of eating through countless generations.

Few of us have the time, resources, or facilities for so exhaustive a piece of research, but many of us can appreciate its rewards, and share vicariously the satisfaction its undertaking must have brought the researcher.

Because so much that is fascinating is crowded into its pages, it is unfortunate that the value of the book as a whole is vitiated by the naive opinions and thesis that intrude upon the presentation of factual material.

THE thesis of the book is simple: The history of modern civilization divides into two periods, one of 2,300 or more years; the other of 139 years. The year 1800, or thereabouts, is the dividing point. Until that time, humans struggled intermittently with hunger. Populations periodically overran food supplies. Great misery and want then devastated the people.

The author quotes from a British statistician, writing in 1846, that from 1200 to 1600 there were an average of seven famines and 10 years of famine in a century. Explanation for this devastating record seems to be that the producers of food were not free men and the "profit motive had been successfully eliminated." Then, presto, there was a change.

"When commons were abolished, the opportunity came. Thereafter, man could control his own field, enjoying, in St. Jerome's phrase,

the fruit of his labor, and so an inducement was offered to private ambition. Once more there was surplus produce and this surplus brought leisure and an opportunity for study. Man could lift his eyes from the ground and his hand from his work and out of it all came machinery and our industrial civilization."

Miraculous, but true, according to the author. Our present concern, it seems, is simply to insure that the producers of food continue to control their own fields.

"... In the twentieth century," he writes, "it should be unnecessary to argue that freedom is good and that taxation and regulation are bad."

"All persons, therefore, who are interested in having an adequate food supply for the Nation and in maintaining democratic institutions, are vitally concerned in the reduction of taxes and in protecting industry and agriculture from political control. 'It is the cardinal principle of our national life,' Mr. Wendell Phillips said, 'that God has given every man sense enough to manage his own affairs.'"

MR. PRENTICE allows himself only one specific sideswipe at the agricultural programs of the New Deal. As illustration of the perniciousness of governmental interference, he says: "A little interruption by the American Government in the raising of corn, united with a drought, resulted during 1935 in an increased importation of corn amounting to 7,265.3 percent over the average of the preceding five years."

Undoubtedly he could add to this alarming picture and not be troubled by the fact that the imports of corn in 1935 represented only one percent of all the corn consumed in the country. (Actually the increase in imports in 1935 over the previous 5 years was 1,965 percent.) Mr. Prentice might have gone on to say that despite continued "interruption" by Government in 1937-38 there was the largest net export of corn (exports minus imports) since the year of freedom 1921-22.

But it is unfair to linger too long on the prejudices and philosophy of the author. There are great passages in which they do not intrude on the absorbing record unfolded of feast and famine as of old. In separate chapters he culls from ancient texts and authorities the histories of different foodstuffs, meats, vegetables, milk, poultry products. In recounting the development of milk as an item in diet, there is a singular ignoring of the importance of Pasteur and of pasteurization in breaking down prejudices against fresh milk and in extending the market for this highly prized and desirable food.

ODD facts come to light, and throughout the book the reader learns much about simple day-to-day food problems of people living in a simpler age. Beef, it seems, is a relatively modern food.

"The ancients wished so to protect this animal from violence that they decreed capital punishment for any person who wilfully killed an

ox. . . In the Middle Ages, as in the ancient world, cattle were draught animals and beasts of burden."

Much of the animal flesh consumed was high. It weighed heavily on the breath. "Marco Polo," it is related, "says that the Great Kaan, in order to be sure that candidates for his favor had sweet breath, etc., required them before acceptance to procure approval of certain elderly ladies."

Apparently the Latins ate a kind of cabbage "to prevent intoxication," but we cannot be sure that we still have the variety. Spinach is apparently modern, "being first mentioned about the year 1351, as of Spanish origin, whence its name, *olus Hispaniense* or, as the Moors called it, *hispanish*."

Potatoes, introduced from America and still more modern, had hard going in Europe. It was not until some 200 years after their appearance in Europe that a Frenchman could write: "At present (1781) there is scarce an elegant repast where Potatoes are not used in various disguises; and their great consumption in the Capital proves that they are no longer despised there."

Cumulatively, through well-selected quotations, the author recreates a picture of the limitations in diet and in food supplies that either permanently or periodically afflicted our progenitors. So deftly is the picture drawn that the reader is left with the feeling that the next time he enters a "quick-and-greasy," he should take his hat, if not his shoes, off.

THE AGRARIAN REVIVAL: A STUDY OF AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION. *Russell Lord. American Association for Adult Education. New York. 236 pp. 1939.*

by JOHN C. ELICKSON

IN SPITE of a vast physical interlinking of the rural and urban which has changed the American landscape so remarkably since horse-and-buggy days, the open country of the United States (with its attendant nebulae of land grant colleges, farm papers, farm organizations, experiment stations, and State extension services) remains to a strange degree a world apart. It is more than a world; it is a whirling *system* of worlds distinct from the governing commercial structure of the eastern seaboard, the gulfshore, and lakeshore rim."

That paragraph from *The Agrarian Revival* illustrates Russell Lord's sweeping approach in this study of the Extension Service. Arising from different needs, shaped by varying social and physical forces, bearing the imprint of the personalities of great agricultural leaders, and only loosely coordinated by any central authority, the Extension Service is subject to few generalizations.

One is that: ". . . The Extension Service is far and away the largest single adult education enterprise in the United States, and it continues

to expand." Another indicates a major regional difference: "... In general ... agricultural extension teaching in the North and West has tended to lead farming people more and more into commercial farming and commercial involvements, while in the South extension leaders have been trying mainly to make their people less dependent on the commercial ups and downs of the cotton market."

THE Extension Service is broadly considered in relation to the agricultural situation and the other activities of the Department. To a considerable extent it is the result of the work and hopes and dreams of literally millions of individuals, motivated by a desire to improve their own condition or that of farmers in general.

Using a general historical approach, Mr. Lord quotes or describes more than a hundred people in the field of agriculture whose efforts or ideas or influence at the hour of decision helped shape policy and institutional growth, or at least represented an important aspect of the situation.

Specific cases and personalities are used to illustrate general principles, within necessary limits. The work of the pioneers in what came to be the field of Extension is described at length, as well as the hectic growth during the war and the changes accompanying the post-war readjustment and later depression.

The origin of the action programs in 1933 and the part taken in their administration by the Extension forces are described more briefly. These programs and the tremendous increase in farmer participation in their administration have caused profound changes in Extension programs and point of view, varying of course by States and regions.

THE author approves of these changes, and adds: "But I want to see changes made slowly and democratically—if we can find the time—by response to sentiment originating within these areas rather than by mandates or pressures exerted, directly or indirectly, from Washington, from the State capitols, or from both. Our State and community lines can no longer be defended as actual physical borders; but I think that educators should defend them in some measure as borders of sentiment and of democratic differences worth preserving."

What the reader gets out of this book depends largely on the background of information he brings to it.

Those who know little about Extension or agriculture will find this a useful and informative book, even if the relationship of many points covered may not be apparent. But all those acquainted with the field and concerned with probable developments in agriculture and the farm programs will be greatly stimulated by the incisive insights and absorbed in the vivid descriptions of personalities and events.

The tolerant and eclectic point of view expressed provides room for any amount of agreement or disagreement, but this book can be read with pleasure and profit by all.

For your attention

RURAL LIBRARY SERVICE. *United States Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bulletin No. 1847. Prepared in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. February 1940. Illustrated. 28 pp. 10 cents.*

The foreword to this booklet says: "Nearly 39 million rural Americans still lack public-library service of any kind. Believing that access to good reading materials is essential to rural progress, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics asked the American Library Association to cooperate in the preparation of this bulletin, which describes some of the rural library services now at work and suggests how rural communities and farm families who are without such services can help to get them for their people."

Topics include how rural people use library books, library service over wide areas, how modern rural libraries are started, leadership in library development, suggestions for action, some types of rural libraries and a directory of State library extension agencies.

THE WAR AT OUR FEET. *Henry A. Wallace. Survey Graphic Magazine. February 1940.*

The Secretary of Agriculture surveys the need for conservation and the means of achieving it in this timely article. His introduction is:

"We live in a new world. We are less compelled to travel in specific channels by hard material fact than is the case of any other place on earth. We are, to be sure, beginning to feel some of the pressures that most older lands have experienced in their time. But it still seems to me that with a united will, and with a course of action upon which we can agree constructively, we Americans need not feel utterly at the mercy of events abroad. Americans can choose. It is a matter of tremendous significance to the future of the world which ideas we choose."

SHARE-RENTED FARMS IN THREE NEW YORK AREAS, 1937-38. *P. L. Poirot. New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca. October 1939. 13 pp.*

In view of the large percentage of farm tenancy in New York State there is a continuous demand in that State from both landlords and tenants for information regarding farm rentals.

This report presents some results of a survey of a year's business on each of 220 selected New York farms, made in order to learn how receipts and expenses are shared by owner and operator. On the basis of these farm records and in accordance with other farm leases in use in New York and other States, a suggested lease form was prepared, designed to meet the requirements of New York conditions. Copies may be obtained by addressing the Department of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management, New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, N. Y.

WHAT'S NEW IN FARM SCIENCE? *Part I, Fifty-sixth Annual Report. Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin. Madison. Illustrated. 96 pp.*

This booklet summarizes the research relating to farm engineering, animal diseases and breeding, game management, animal nutrition, home economics, bacteria, molds and yeasts, dairy products, and farm income and welfare. The reports cover the scientific work performed from July to December 1938, by the Experiment Station in developing and testing new farm practices. Part II of the Wisconsin Station's Annual Report to follow in the spring of 1940 will treat livestock feeding, poultry, insect pests, soil fertility, plant diseases, field crops, and garden, orchard, and cash crops.

WHAT DOES MONTANA COUNTY GOVERNMENT COST? *R. R. Renne. Processed Circular 16. Agricultural Experiment Station, Montana State College, Bozeman. May 1939. 24 pp.*

Mr. Renne reports that Montana county governments are in as sound financial condition today as at any time in the past 25 years. Total taxes levied by county governments in 1938 are shown to be only about 1 percent higher than those assessed in 1933. Delinquent collections were made possible by improved general business conditions and the comparatively large Federal relief and agricultural adjustment payments.

AN ECONOMIC STUDY OF THE MAPLE PRODUCTS INDUSTRY IN GARRETT COUNTY, MD. *Roy E. Huffman, S. H. DeVault, and J. W. Coddington. The University of Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station, College Park, Md., Cooperating with the United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Bulletin 431. January 1940. 50 pp.*

This detailed study seeks to determine the extent of the maple products industry in Garrett County, to determine if present sugar groves are on land adapted to such use and the best alternative use of such land, and to analyze the present practices, methods, and costs of production and marketing.

STUDIES IN LAND UTILIZATION: THE FARM BUSINESS AND THE FARM FAMILY IN COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURAL REGIONS. *R. M. Carter. Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station, Burlington. October 1939. Processed. 42 pp.*

An investigation of conditions in nine towns, selected as fairly representative of the commercial agricultural sections of Vermont, is the scope of this study. Land in these towns was divided into four classes according to its adaptation to the existing type of farming, as indicated by the apparent degree of success attained over the years.

Mr. Carter examines, on the one hand, the bearing of such physical factors as location, elevation, topography, and soil upon land class, and, on the other, the relationship of land class to farm incomes, to rural living, and to rural public affairs. There is a record of the location, size, and state of repair of all buildings, including both dwellings and barns, in rural areas; maps showing the location and extent of cropland, pasture, and woodland; a record of the acreage and production of all crops and of the amount and kind of livestock carried in 1936; and, finally, a financial record covering the operations during the year ending June 30, 1938, for one-third of the approximately 900 farms in the towns.

THE QUARTERLY BULLETIN. *Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State College. East Lansing. Volume XXII, No. 2. November 1939. Illustrated. 130 pp.*

Timely articles of information for farmers, based largely on the work of the Agricultural Experiment Station, are contained herein. Among the subjects are tractor costs in Michigan, 1938; cost of credit extension in the sale of farm supplies by cooperative associations; traction tests of pneumatic tires; and the influence of some ground cover types upon tree seedling survival.

ORGANIZATION AND PRACTICE OF FINANCIALLY SUCCESSFUL MONTANA FARMS, 1934-36. *Willard W. Cochran. Processed Circular No. 14, Agricultural Experiment Station, Montana State College, Bozeman. April 1939. 10 pp.*

What makes for profitable farming? This analysis of 314 Montana farms that prospered during 1934-36 shows that the successful farms are located on the better grades of land and that successful farmers have specialized in wheat production, yet supplemented their income with side-line enterprises. The cash income from Federal payments for crop reduction and soil-conserving practices has been an important minor source of income for these farmers. They were found to be above the average in managerial ability, and sufficiently progressive to accept new and promising ideas and practices.

RELATIONSHIP OF PRODUCTIVITY OF FARM UNITS AND THEIR ABILITY TO PAY RENT. *Brown R. Rawlings, Jr., and O. R. Johnson. Research Bulletin 308, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Missouri, Columbia. November 1939. 43 pp.*

The study here presented concerns primarily the development of a technique and method of determining the adequacy of farming units from the standpoint of paying a net rent. Well-known rent theory is applied to actual data on costs of production and total production obtained from more than 300 selected farms in Harrison, Callaway, and Nodaway Counties, Missouri, and Decatur and Ringgold Counties, Iowa. Economic rent is computed and compared to the commercial rent for the farms considered.

The authors found that there are farms in all of the areas studied which are either too small or too low in productivity, or both, to leave anything for the landlord after providing an adequate standard of living for the operator and paying the operating costs; and that there is still another still larger group of farms in each area which are either too small or too low in productivity, or both, to provide an adequate standard of living for the operator and at the same time pay operating expenses, landlord's necessary expenses, interest on improvement capital, and leave anything for a net rent.

EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS FOR RURAL REHABILITATION. *R. W. Roskelley and Olaf F. Larson. Bulletin 457. Colorado Experiment Station and W. P. A. November 1939. 26 pp. Appendix.*

This report makes available certain statistical data concerning the educational attainments of members of rural households receiving relief in Colorado. Limited educational accomplishments of family heads and educational retardation of school children are the characteristics of this rural relief group. What are the implications so far as improving the socio-economic status of this educationally disadvantaged class? It means, say the authors, that any program of effective relief administration, rehabilitation of clients, or the prevention of further relief problems must take into consideration the educational progress and achievement of the persons involved.

TYPES OF FARMING. *V. B. Hart. New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca. June 1939. Processed. 22 pp.*

Growing a particular crop or raising a certain kind of livestock is almost wholly dependent on whether it pays, says the author, and it is by a process of trial and error that the kind of crops and livestock and the farm practices best adapted to a section survive and others are eliminated.

What determines the most profitable type of farming in any region? The writer lists climate, soil, and topography; marketing costs; changes in relative value of product; competition between different crops and livestock; consumer demands, land values, and available capital; insect pests and plant diseases; cycles of over- and under-production; labor supply and neighbors, and personal likes of the individual.

The latter half of the report is devoted to a discussion of where different farm products are produced and why. Sixteen kinds of farm products are discussed and five types of livestock are treated.

Delay in adjusting agriculture to changing conditions is attributed by Mr Hart partly to the force of habit and partly to the fact that farmers frequently do not have sufficient information so that they can determine whether changes in the demand for and price of specific products are temporary or permanent. The author feels it is important that the individual farmer understand the factors which determine the most profitable type of farming for his section and also that he have a good understanding of changes that are taking place in those factors.

NOTES ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TRADE, LEGAL, AND PRICE BARRIERS IN RELATION TO "SOCIAL PROGRESS." *S. von Ciriacy-Wantrup. Agricultural Experiment Station, University of California. Berkeley. July 1939. Processed. 14 pp.*

This report discusses the causes and economic significance of various barriers in relation to "social progress," which is defined as security not only in economic but in other lines of human endeavor.

The conditions under which trade barriers can be socially beneficial are considered. Though some argue that trade barriers stimulate infant industries, the author thinks industry can be encouraged more effectively by a public subsidy that could be raised through progressive taxation. He says that employment can be increased through trade barriers, but says that as a general policy this would lead to a decrease in real incomes.

GUIDES FOR USING LAND-CLASS MAPS. *H. S. Tyler. New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca. November 1939. Processed. 6 pp.*

The land in New York is being classified on a county basis by the New York State College of Agriculture into land-class areas according to the intensity of use to which each is apparently best adapted. From these findings land-class maps are designed. They serve as guides for individuals and institutions in making individual decisions as to land utilization and related problems.

For those who may have questions regarding the proper interpretation and use of the county land-class maps, this pamphlet has the answers. How land-class maps are prepared and why they are prepared are discussed.

CAREERS IN CONSUMER COOPERATION. *Clarence W. Failor. Science Research Associates, Chicago. 1939. 48 pp.*

Young people about to select their careers and vocational counselors will find this booklet of value.

FARMER CO-OPS IN KANSAS. *Wichita Bank for Cooperatives*. 16 pp. *Wichita, Kans.* 1939.

The growth and extent of farmer cooperation in Kansas since its first cooperative was formed more than 50 years ago are surveyed in this publication. Some of the highlights on farm cooperation in Kansas are: The largest development of marketing and purchasing cooperatives came between 1913 and 1922; Kansas farmers do their largest cooperative business with their grain elevators; the fastest growing cooperatives are those selling farm supplies; more than half of the 170,000 Kansas farmers are members of at least one cooperative.

SCIENTIFIC CONSUMER PURCHASING. *American Association of University Women*. 81 pp. 1939.

This study guide has been prepared for groups interested in the problem of choosing goods for individual or household use and in present production and retailing practices affecting the consumer.

TEACHERS' SOURCE MATERIALS ON FARMERS' COOPERATIVE BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS. 19 circulars. *Farm Credit Administration*. *Washington, D. C.* 1939.

These circulars are designed for the use of teachers of vocational agriculture. Twelve of them discuss the problems of farmers' business activities in the cooperative marketing of several farm commodities, and in cooperative purchasing, insuring, processing, financing. Six circulars in this "You and Your Co-Op" series deals with the general background of matters like the history, organization, financing, and management of cooperatives. One circular, "Using a Local Cooperative as Source Material for Teaching," is designed to help the teacher in getting the most out of field trips to local or other cooperative organizations.

BUYING A FARM IN NEW YORK. *Howard S. Tyler*. *Cornell Extension Bulletin* 412. 36 pp. *Ithaca, N. Y.* June 1939.

This bulletin attempts to assemble some of the more important points to consider in selecting and starting to operate a farm in New York State. The writer makes general suggestions for all types of purchasers and special suggestions for particular types of buyers.

The report discusses the enterprises that are profitable for New York farms, tells where to get maps showing the location of abandoned farms, and compares production-credit associations with banks as a method of financing the operation of a farm.

FARMER CO-OPS IN OHIO. *R. C. Dorsey*. *Louisville Bank for Cooperatives*. *Louisville, Ky.* 24 pp. 1939.

Twenty-five years ago there was only one farmers' purchasing cooperative in Ohio. Today, this report shows, 110 purchasing associations are set up from which Ohio farmers buy feed, seed, fertilizer, gasoline, motor oil, farm machinery, and many other farm supplies. Farm products and farmers' supplies sold through Ohio cooperatives are estimated in this pamphlet to be, in dollar value, a third as large as the Ohio production of rubber tires and greater than the output of gasoline and oil by all the crude petroleum refineries in the State. This survey estimates that of the more than 250,000 farmers in Ohio, probably a third are purchasing farm supplies or marketing farm products through cooperative organizations.

FARMER CO-OPS IN COLORADO. *Val C. Sherman. Wichita Bank for Cooperatives. Wichita, Kans. 1939. 24 pp.*

From carnations to pinto beans, and honey to turkeys, there is scarcely an agricultural commodity in Colorado's wide diversity of farm products that is not handled cooperatively, Mr. Sherman reports. He says that approximately one crop dollar in every three is received or bargained for through cooperatives. Livestock cooperatives are reported to account for a third of the cooperative business in the State.

Contributors to This Issue

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